







Vol. 1 (nos. 1-46)

T H E

NORTH BRITON,

F R O M

N^o. I. to N^o. XLVI. inclusive.

W I T H

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T H E

N O R T H B R I T O N .

NUMB. I. SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1762.

SEJANUS, WOLSEY, hurt not honest FLEURY,
But well may put some Statesmen in a fury.

POPE.

THE *liberty of the press* is the birth-right of a BRITON, and is justly esteemed the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country. It has been the terror of all bad ministers; for their dark and dangerous designs, or their weakness, inability, and duplicity, have thus been detected and shewn to the public, generally in too strong and just colours for them long to bear up against the odium of mankind. Can we then be surprized that so various and infinite arts have been employed, at one time entirely to set aside, at another to take off the force, and blunt the edge, of this most sacred weapon, given for the defence of truth and liberty? A wicked and corrupt administration must naturally dread this appeal to the world; and will be for keeping all the means of information equally from the prince, parliament, and people. Every method will then be tried, and all arts put in practice to check the spirit of knowledge and enquiry. Even the courts of justice have in the most dangerous way, because under the sanction of law, been drawn in to

second the dark views of an arbitrary ministry, and to stifle in the birth all infant virtue. From this motive, *in former times*, the King's-bench has inflicted the most grievous punishments of fine, pillory, or imprisonment, *or perhaps all three*, on some who have stood forth the champions of their country, and whose writings have been the honour of their age and nation.

Under the government of a STUART, which has been so fatal to ENGLAND, the most daring encroachments have been made on the favourite liberties of the people, and the freedom of the press has been openly violated. Even a *Licensor* of the press has been appointed. Nothing but the vilest ministerial trash, and falsehoods fabricated by a wicked party, had then the sanction of this tool of power; nor of consequence could any production, breathing the spirit of liberty, have a chance of being ushered to light. The *imprimatur* of the minister was scarcely ever given, but to compositions equally disgraceful to letters and humanity. I do not however recollect that any of these hirelings have ventured, as the BRITON of last Saturday has done, magnificently to display the *royal arms* at the head of their papers. Does this author mean to *intimidate*? Or is it to insinuate that this new paper comes forth, like the GAZETTE, *by authority*, and that he is fighting under the ministerial banner? All opposition therefore to him, according to this idea, is to be considered as an indignity offered to the administration, and an affront to the higher powers, who may be supposed to protect, perhaps to pay him. This is surely too stale a trick now to pass. I rather think the *royal arms* are prostituted by a mercenary scribler, as much as the *royal name* was in a certain great assembly, when *minute guns were fired* over the late minister*.

This

* This alludes to the *rapid* eloquence of the *Scottish* minister, who, as *Donne* says, *Between each word he gives, gives a full minute*, and by attention to words, endeavours to make amends for want of sense.

This BRITON steps forth, like the other court champion DYMOCKE, to a dreadful fight without an adversary; to receive, like him, I suppose, the reward of a well-fought day. Safe, and of consequence bold, as DYMOCKE, he has no enemy but himself to combat. No attack has been made on the crown; none but himself has *dared to aim any fire-arrows at the bosom of a sovereign that never knew disgrace.* He, and only He, has mentioned a resemblance between the reigning prince and *Tiberius*, which I believe has never occurred to any one else. To him belongs the ignominy of having *broached this calumny with his hand, to which his heart must have given the lie.* The MONITOR has indeed charged the cannon, but the BRITON has pointed it against his sovereign. He pretends to have discovered the source of his calumny in the MONITOR of Saturday May the 22d. I have read that MONITOR very carefully, and I affirm that there is no mention of TIBERIUS through the whole of that paper, excepting in the motto from TACITUS, nor is any such character drawn. Count BRUHL's indeed is, and by the hand of a master. He is compared, but by the motto only, to SEJANUS. The comparison need not extend farther. A minister may in all points resemble SEJANUS, or Count BRUHL, and yet his royal master need not be a TIBERIUS, or AUGUSTUS III. The sovereign may be a TRAJAN, or a TITUS, the delight of mankind; and his only fault in his people's eyes may be an unbounded confidence in an insolent, weak, and treacherous minister.

This foolish BRITON proceeds to produce himself amidst the parade of pompous professions, and vile alliterations. He calls upon the MONITOR to produce one instance of insolence, cruelty, profligacy, or oppression, chargeable on the King of Great Britain; or to exhibit one specimen of his weakness and tyranny. These are things which never occurred to any man's mind, because they never existed. Something like this has

happened under every king since the conquest, to every profligate minister who wants to involve his master with him. The valiant DYMOCKE, like this writer, has in all ages founded forth,

*If any person, of what degree soever,
high or low, shall deny or gainsay, &c!*

and then the champion throws down his gauntlet, which I never heard of any person's being fool-hardy enough to take up. But is not this a clever plot to hang the poor MONITOR, or at least to get him into the cruel hands of a revengeful and unforgiving crew? Let me beg of you, Mr. MONITOR, do, commit treason: pray be taken up by CARRINGTON, and try'd by MANSFIELD: his regard to the liberty of the subject is known, and his tender mercies will not be cruelty. I trust the MONITOR has more wit, and that he has not *lost sight of all regard to his own safety*; but will proceed in the way he has hitherto walked, and continue to administer wholesome satire where it is merited, instead of that nauseous and fulsome panegyric, with which the BRITON makes us sick. The BRITON next calls upon him to discover *one circumstance even*; then insults him with *he cannot, he DARE NOT, descend to particulars, which would answer his purpose, but restrains himself to a general charge*. Now I will maintain that no charge at all has been brought by the MONITOR against his sovereign; and that the most gross satire has come from the venal pen of this wretched BRITON, who throughout his paper has himself *first* insinuated the vilest falsehood, *a similitude between the characters of TIBERIUS and his own Sovereign*.

The BRITON says, that "in any court of judicature a general charge, unsupported by evidence, is answered and refuted by a general negation." His assertions are every where much more general than the MONITOR'S; nor does he ever dare to descend to particulars.

particulars. *He affirms, the administration is conducted with such integrity as defies reproach.* The king of Prussia, *still our ally,* tells the world the contrary, *He proceeds to say, with such vigour and success as, one would think, might silence the most inveterate malice:* name what success, the time when, the place where. Sure you dare not allude to the unfair and *underhand* offers to the court of Vienna for an immediate accommodation in consequence of cessions to be made to them in Italy, *or elsewhere;* because it is now known those offers, have been treated with the contempt they deserved. As to *vigour,* the spirit of the war has for some months infamously languished, nor is it yet revived. I own indeed that *the whole kingdom echoes with the sound of triumph and festivity,* but it is from the glorious conquests of the late administration, to which no addition whatever has been made by the present. Where are their trophies? In what part of the world have they gathered their laurels? Surely, in defiance of decency and justice, they have not endeavoured with their rude hands to tear from any sacred brow those fairly won, in order to place them on their own.

This author only gives himself out for a *Briton.* I have heard of a paper called a *Free Briton;* why has he dropt the title of *Free?* I am sure it never could be more properly applied, according to that famous verse,

*Nunquam libertas gratior exstat
Quam sub rege pio.*

But it is not for *freedom* that this writer chooses to draw his grey goose-quill. As little pretensions has he to the title of *True Briton.* Conscious of this, he only gives himself out as a *Briton;* a circumstance equally common to him and *Buck-horse.* I wish the *BRITON* had given us any clue to unravel what his real views, besides pay or a pension, could be. He only declares his design to be to detect the *falsehood of malice:* mine

shall be to detect the *malice of falsehood*---of his in particular; and he shall find that I will exert the undoubted privilege of every NORTH BRITON, that of speaking my opinion freely on every subject that concerns the community, of which I am a member. Though I am a NORTH BRITON, I will endeavour to write *plain English*, and to avoid the numerous *Scotticisms* the BRITON abounds with; and then, as the world is apt to mistake, he may be taken for a *Scotfman*, and I shall pass for an *Englishman*.

What I have to say of myself, shall be soon dispatched. I thank my stars, I am a *North Briton*; with this almost singular circumstance belonging to me, that I am *unplaced and unpenfion'd*: but I hope this reproach will soon be wiped away, and that I shall no longer be pointed at by my sneering countrymen.

I shall now, till next Saturday, take leave of this writer with an excellent observation, which I lately read in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE:

“ Thus much is certain, that whatever means will
 “ restore or raise the credit of his Majesty’s government
 “ at home, will do it abroad too; for a king of Eng-
 “ land, at the head of his parliament and people, and
 “ in their hearts and interest,” (as our sovereign now
 is, and from his virtues ever must be,) “ can never
 “ fail of making what figure he pleases in the world,
 “ nor of being safe and easy at home; and may de-
 “ spise all the designs of factious men, who can only
 “ make themselves considered by seeming to be in the
 “ interest of the nation, when the court seems to
 “ be out of it. But, in running on counsels contrary
 “ to the general humour and spirit of the people, the
 “ king indeed may make his *ministers great subjects*, but
 “ they can never make him a *great prince**”.

* The first *Briton* was published May 29, 1762. The *North Briton* began on the Saturday following.

NUMB. II. SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1762.

Malè se res habet, cùm, quod VIRTUTE effici debet, id tentatur
PECUNIA.

Things are in a bad way when money is employed to bring
about what should be effected by virtue.

CICERO.

I Cannot conceal the joy I feel as a *North Briton*, and I heartily congratulate my dear countrymen on our having at length accomplished the great, long fought, and univèrsally national object of all our wishes, the planting a *Scotsman* at the head of the *English* Treasury. I was indeed before very well pleased with the conduct of the* two other gentlemen at that board, who are likewise natives of our country; but then they were obliged to serve under a noble† Duke of a peculiar cast, whose views were most evidently neither to enrich himself, nor to aggrandize us. My joy and exultation are now complete, for I have lived to see my countryman, the Earl of Bute, adorned with the most noble order of the *Garter* (which hath been given to us with so sparing a hand, and only for the most brilliant national services) and presiding over the finances of this kingdom. This is the post which the prime minister hath generally kept for himself, and is of the first importance in this country. It must ever be so in times of war, and above all in this wide-extended but glorious war, when nearly the sum of twenty millions will be this year raised on the subject; though, I thank heaven, but a *fortieth* part of it will be paid by us. This, I must confess, is matter of still greater triumph to me; for

A 4

the

* Gilbert Elliot, and James Oswald, Esquires.

† Duke of Newcastle.

the poor pittance we pay to the support of the Public, does not give us even the most distant claim to the disposition of the whole, much less to the direction of the most important department of the state, our share of the legislature being much to our advantage settled at about a *thirteenth* not a *fortieth*. It is clearly then merit, superior to all the *English* nobility, which has raised the Earl of BUTE to the first dignities, and to the power of disposing of so great public treasure.

Another circumstance must make this event peculiarly grateful to us. The Earl of BUTE has no *hereditary* right to a seat in parliament, nor is he elected by the free voice of the people: no; he is chosen by the *opulent* and *independent* nobility of Scotland; and when the commons have such various marks of favour and affection shewn to them, it must be a satisfaction to so many *free* and *loyal* nobles to see the object of their choice thus honoured, trusted, and rewarded for all his public toils and *private services*. Our *ancient kingdom* therefore cannot but be satisfied, and by every tie of gratitude, as well as duty, must *now* be sincerely attached to the government. The most suspicious can have no doubts concerning us for the future, in case of a rebellion's springing up in any other country; which to me seems *highly improbable*.

The wisdom of this measure hath been decried by shallow politicians, because two great rebellions from *Scotland* have within a few years disturbed the tranquility of this island, and shook the throne of two of the mildest and best sovereigns who ever governed a happy people. Nothing can be more weak or frivolous than this objection. Let us only consider what has before happened there; and I choose to instance in the latter end of QUEEN ANNE'S reign, because so many of our modern writers are drawing our attention to that period. Upon what grounds they proceed I know not, for I find no similitude, as it is impossible we can now be suing for peace in the most *abject* and *humiliating* manner after
such

such amazing successes. In May 1712, each of the heads of the Highland clans received 360*l* sterling as a compleat year's payment of the bounty money her Majesty was pleased to bestow upon them: these were the words of the receipt. Soon after they signed an address to the Queen, which was carried to London by *Allan Cameron*, brother to *Lochiel*, and presented to her Majesty, *Allan* being introduced by the Lord Treasurer *Oxford*, who was then the head of the TORY faction. In the address are these words: "Happy! if after your Majesty's late demise, to put a period to our intestine divisions; the hereditary right and parliamentary sanction could possibly meet in the person of a *lineal* successor." At the accession of the present illustrious family, the same Highland chiefs wrote a letter to the Earl of MAR, *intreating him to assure the government in their names, and in that of the rest of the clans of their loyalty to his sacred majesty King GEORGE; and that as they were always ready to follow his directions in serving Queen ANNE, so they will now be equally forward to concur with his lordship in faithfully serving King GEORGE.* The Earl of MAR too had wrote the warmest letter of loyalty to his Majesty's great grandfather, and had taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; yet in a few months, even before there could be the pretence of a single grievance, all these infamous wretches went into open rebellion. Had the 360*l*. a year bounty money, been continued to them, and had the Earl of MAR remained secretary of state for Scotland, as he was at the death of Queen ANNE, some millions, which it cost to extinguish that rebellion, had probably been saved to this country. I therefore most sincerely hope, that as we have now a *Scottish* nobleman at the head of the treasury, his lordship will consider it as the truest *economy* to give some proper pensions to his countrymen the Highland chiefs, which may save England the severe and expensive operation of quelling another insurrection, and bleeding again a country, which, I lament, is so much exhausted by former rebellion

bellions and the present general desertion of her sons and daughters. If this is done, I make no doubt but they will as implicitly follow the Earl of Bute as they did the Earl of Mar. I never shall be brought to believe that *rebellion* is natural to any part of *Scotland*, as the plague is said to be to Egypt; but certainly in some parts this wicked spirit has been kept up with much art; and the late most unnatural rebellion was carefully nursed by Scotsmen, till it became the most accursed fiend we ever saw, which all the united plagues of Egypt could never equal. I cannot but say, the peculiar baseness and perfidy of my countrymen at that time struck me: for while the *English* were so gallantly fighting for the liberties of Europe, and indeed of mankind, they were called back to deal out halters and gibbets to their fellow subjects of *Scotland*, who were forging chains for both nations; and, worse than the infamous Capadocians of old, not only refused the liberty they might enjoy themselves, but endeavoured to entail *their* vassalage and slavery on the whole island.

To quit so disagreeable a subject: while I am taking the liberty of pointing out to the noble Lord now at the head of the Treasury, the proper method of bestowing a part of the public treasure, I by no means intend to limit his bounties to my own countrymen. His lordship has been overflowing in goodness to several of the English, and besides the *Scots* I have already named, I would beg to recommend the patriots at the *Cocoa-tree*, if there are any left, who are still unprovided for by him. The just and *constitutional* claim they have on *this* royal family is uncontrovertible. I am glad it is at length admitted, and their merit rewarded. Most of their estates have suffered by their zeal in the cause of liberty. Their support of government has been steady and uniform; and as they at first exerted themselves in the expulsion of *Tarquin*, they have never repented it, nor have they ever been caught in any plots for his restoration. I really think this will make a more natural
union

union with the countrymen of the new Minister than any other he can find here, and the illustrious house of Hanover will derive the truest strength from these *old* and *firm* friends.

I hope to be forgiven, if I add one hint to his Lordship, who is new in money business. Whatever is of the greatest convenience or use ought to be first attended to. I think therefore the first money issued by his Lordship should be the four thousand pounds very lately given for building a new bridge over the *Tweed*. I trust it will be finished this summer, as my family are very impatient to pay me a visit, and I have not seen any of them since I took a walk up hither. Besides, this grant is of so new a nature, that it ought particularly to be considered. Westminster-bridge was chiefly built by lotteries, and the city of London gave up very great tolls in consideration of the sums granted to them for the repairing their bridge. The four thousand pounds for this bridge over the *Tweed* are taken out of the supplies of the year. Though this is so new a thing, much more than a sufficient and adequate compensation will be made the Public by the number of my countrymen, who are hastening here with all their *wealth* and *manufactures*.

I am happy to find that the *English* are not so sparing and penurious to us, both of money and praise, as they used to be. We are certainly growing into fashion. The most rude of our bards are admired; and I know some choice wits here; who have thrown aside *Shakespeare*, and taken up *Fingal*, charmed with the variety of character, and richness of imagery. Mr. Horace Walpole, in that deep book called *Royal and Noble Authors*, says, we are *the most accomplished nation in Europe; the nation to which, if any one country is endowed with a superior partition of sense* (and he ought to have added of *humour* and *taste*, in both which we excel) *I should be inclined to give the preference in that particular*. How faithful is this masterly pen of Mr. *Walpole*! How unlike

like the odious, sharp, and strong incision pen of *Swift*! He has called us only a *poor, fierce, northern* people, and has asserted, *that the pensions and employments possessed by the natives of Scotland in England amounted to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and that all the money they raised upon the Public was hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists.* This was at the latter end of *Queen Anne's* reign. How very different is the case now! I beg to recommend Mr. *Walpole* too, for so very particular a compliment, (which I hope flowed from his *heart*, still more than from his *head*) and I entreat his lordship to put him on the list, immediately after my countrymen, and the *Cocoa*.

There are only two other persons I have to recommend to his lordship. I must say a word of the poor *BRITON*: he deserves something----I will not name what----for sacrificing, at the shrine of *BUTE*, grammar, conscience, and common sense, for his lordship's *glorification*: I will borrow only one word from the *BRITON*. Do not I too deserve something for reading every week the flimsy productions of so weak a head?

NUMB. III. SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1762.

Nos patriam fugimus.

We all get out of our country as fast as we can.

VIRG.

I Have already received a variety of letters from my correspondents. I must confess that they are for the most part written in as peevish and angry a stile as the *BRITON*; and, after his manner, many foul and opprobrious epithets are bestowed on me. Some brand me with the name of a *Trimmer*, and charge me with having taken up the *Pen* only to be paid for laying it down

down again. Others assert, that I stand, like most of the *Highb* and *Mighty* GERMAN PRINCES, ready to let out both my *Pen* and my *Conscience* to the best bidder. Some of my own countrymen with much bitterness call me a *false Scot*; while on the other hand the English with more bitterness call me a *true Scot*. I am upbraided with having said, that *Scotland is exhausted by former rebellions, and the present general desertion of her sons and daughters*: the assertion is, alas! too true; and the fact too glaring to be denied. Like the Jews, we are spread over the face of every country. (except *our own*) and of this in particular. I regret it exceedingly, and the more, as I am afraid the evil is without a remedy; for I have never heard of any one of my countrymen being attacked with the *patrialgia*, the *maladie du Suisse*, (the *home-ack*, as it has been happily called) and in consequence languishing till he returned to *Scotland*. This is an old reproach on us; perhaps as ancient as our kingdom itself. The English have never ceased to upbraid us with it. Their great poet Dryden (so confessedly superior to all the moderns, except Mr. John Home) in his *Abfalom* and *Achitophel*, says,

For never *Hebronite*, tho' *kick'd* and *scorn'd*,
To his own country willingly return'd.

Hebron, in the key, is *Scotland*. Whence can this peculiarity arise? Does not the *natale solum* inspire the same pleasing sentiments, though not *longings*, to us, as to the rest of mankind? All other nations speak of this sensation in the highest strains of rapture. I believe the true and fair reason is this: though our civil and military lists are filled by ourselves, and we have so carefully excluded almost every Englishman, and other foreigners, yet, as they are by no means adequate to all our necessities, a very considerable number of my countrymen are always sent out (like the Goths and Vandals of old) to fill the civil and military posts in other nations.

nations. How successful we have been in the pursuit, not only in this kingdom, but in France too, our *eternal* ally, is visible to all the world. I have an idea of publishing the names of my countrymen, who with so much honour have filled so many considerable posts at Paris, Rome, Avignon, St. Germain, &c. As to those here a publication of that kind would be unnecessary, as it would be transcribing almost the whole *red book*, which is already in every body's hands.

If the observation be true, that the riches of every country consist in the number of its inhabitants, (not the proud and idle, but the industrious inhabitants) how poor, alas! are we even in this respect? An expedient however might perhaps be found, which would bid fair to re-people my dear country. The experiment might indeed go rather too far, but it was the advice given to a former king, who suffered greatly for neglecting it, by a singular, disinterested *Scotchman* and *Churchman*, Archbishop SPOTSWOOD. When his Grace went to take leave of king CHARLES the first, who was setting out for *Scotland*, in 1639, he advised his majesty to make a catalogue of all his counsellors, household-officers, and domestic servants, and then with his pen expunge all the Scots, beginning first with himself, the archbishop, who had given the counsel; conceiving that no man would accuse his majesty of partiality, when he found the archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who so many years had served his father and himself, expunged among the rest; that he must not hope to win upon the Scots by condescensions, sweetnesse, or acts of grace, &c. The reason of which counsel was, because he had found, by sixty years experience, that they were generally a people so stubborn, that they were gained by punishments, and lost by favours. Archdeacon Eachard's History, 2d vol. folio, p. 151, 152.

I have some little business this week to settle with the BRITON. I desired him to name any instance of *vigour* and *success*, which had attended the present administration; and he tells me of the important conquest of

of Martinique, Granada, and the neutral islands in the West Indies. He might have mentioned Louisbourg, or Pondicherry, with as much propriety; and the present administration are surely rather too knowing (though this writer is ignorant) to lay any serious claim to the merit of either. Could the BRITON read men, and had he seen his patron, when the news of the reduction of Martinique first arrived, he must have marked, in the most dejected and distressed countenance I ever beheld, very clear proofs how unwelcome that event then was. I remember it was a general observation, that the common congratulations on so great and national an occasion were received with coldness. It was not difficult to find the reason. The late minister closed all his glories with this great and important success. He had the happiness of covering with laurels a beloved prince, whom, I suspect, many false friends would rather see covered with a crown of thorns and *whistles*. Notwithstanding all the calumnies of the BRITON, this gentleman's honour is still unfulfilled, and his glory unclouded. *Ea autem est gloria, laus rectè factorum, magnorumque in Rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum OPTIMICUJUSQUE, tum etiam MULTITUDINIS testimonio comprobatur.*

With regard to the present expedition, the full merit of it cannot yet be ascertained to the Public. Mr. PITT's legacy to this ministry, of a collected and powerful mass of force in the West-Indies, (*not the bitter dregs of an exhausted cup*,* but part of a solid plan for greater success) now remaining at their disposal for greater reduction of Martinique, may cause the new expedition to be adequate in force to the important object. If therefore the conquerors of that island have not, in consequence of *delay*, the season to combat with, (the only enemy they cannot vanquish) a decisive blow may still be struck to the heart of Spain, and a glorious conclusion made to
this

* This was the phrase of Mr. George Grenville.

this most successful war. In the mean time, let every true lover of his country cease to adopt that *unmanly despair*, which has been so industriously inculcated in order to justify the procuring an accommodation *on any terms*. That *despair* counteracts the purpose, and serves only, by encouraging the enemy, to place the blessings of peace at a still greater distance.

The BRITON in his first paper broached a shameful calumny against his sovereign, of a similitude to *Tiberius*. In that of last Saturday, he attacks the memory of our late most excellent prince with equal virulence. He talks of his *prejudices* and *predilections*, and calls him a *weak sovereign*. Is this the return which a Briton makes for an unclouded æra of above thirty years of the truest liberty this nation ever enjoyed? Are the sacred ashes of a king, who made the laws of his country the only rule of his government, and founded his own happiness in that of his people, thus to be trampled upon? Surely this is the height of baseness and ingratitude; but it is the despicable, though fashionable cant of a party, who are daily making their court to an illiberal patron by the most indecent outrages offered to their late sovereign and benefactor: a liberty, not to say licentiousness, very unfit to recommend those who are guilty of it to the favour of a prince, one of whose amiable qualities is a filial regard to the memory of his predecessor.

The BRITON says, “that the MONITOR has found a
“ co-adjutor, who appears under the name of NORTH
“ BRITON, though he shrewdly suspects, however, that
“ these seemingly distinct personages are one and the
“ same individual.” His suspicions are neither *shrewd*
nor *true*; and I can assure him, that both the MONITOR
and NORTH BRITON (for there is a *duality* belonging to
us) have laughed heartily at the BRITON’s total ignorance
of stile as well as politics. From what I have *read*
of the BRITON, I do not desire to *converse* with him;
but I wish to know more of the MONITOR.

The BRITON tells me, that the *King's Arms* make the sign of his publisher. I believe this is the only instance of veracity in his whole paper: still my objection recurs. It is indifferent to me where else the *royal arms* may be displayed; but it is equally *indecent* and *insolent* to blazon them forth with such pomp at the head of a political paper: *indecent* with respect to the crown, *insolent* with respect to the subject. Had any other *arms* been there, I had made no objection; no, not if the *BUTE arms* had been at the head of the paper, as they might with the strictest propriety; provided however that they were not above the *royal arms*.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Whereas a certain great personage, who was lately inoculated for a *reigning* disorder, had very near miscarried through the unskilfulness of the *operator*, this is to inform the Public, that there is lately arrived from the *Highlands*, one DUN SCOTUS, who can prove, from the *best Scottish historians*, that the malady hath continued in his family without intermission above *twelve thousand years*. He communicates the disorder with a single touch, and is to be met with between the hours of Ten and One, at the sign of the *Higblander in Scotland-yard*, near the Treasury.

N. B. *No infection, no pay.*

Any person who can make out an *hereditary* right to the disorder, though the entail hath since been cut off through his absence from his own country, shall be touched *gratis*.

The utmost honour and secrecy may be depended on, the operator being a man of *quality* in his own country, and possessing an *easy* and *independent* fortune of forty Shillings per Annum.

NUMB. IV. SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1762.

Θαυμαζειν μοι επεισιν οπως Βυτης εστι σοφιστης,
Μητε λογον κοινον, μητε λογισμον εχων.

It is surprizing how Bute can be a sophist in words, since he is destitute even of common sense and reason.

Anthologia. Ed. Brodæi, fol. Franc. 1600, l. ii. p. 250.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

My dear Countryman,

AT a time when the popular clamour is industriously raised, and the strongest prejudices are conceived against us by the whole *English* nation, I am glad to find a man who dares stand forth to the Public, and glory in the name of a *North Briton*. I have not yet read your papers, but I will not doubt of their being founded on that great and governing principle of every *true Scotchman*, the good of the common cause, and the advancement of our *national* interest: a point which to a man we all have in view, and to obtain which there are no measures we have ever boggled at, no risque we have ever scrupled to run.

The *English* (and losers must have leave to speak) may upbraid us, if they will, with our strict regard and attachment to each other, and our thorough contempt of them, and all the rest of the world. We confess the charge, and glory in it: nor shall we be easily persuaded to dissolve or relax that connection, whilst the advantages arising from it are so many and great. To this *national spirit* we have been indebted for many material benefits in former reigns, and to the *same spirit* we in some measure owe our present greatness, and that visible superiority which we have happily gained over *divided, weak, dispirited nobles*.

The *EARL* of BUTE (with triumph be it spoken) is now at the head of affairs, and there is nothing which we may not, which we ought not to hope for from the
favour

favour and patronage of our worthy *Countryman*. The *Union* indeed placed the preferments in *England* within our view, but the partiality of their statesmen, and their utter detestation of *Jacobitism*, a crime regularly charged on us, prevented our obtaining them in such proportion as our consequence to the state, and our *known loyalty*, gave us reason to expect. These obstacles are now removed, our principles are no longer enquired into, the management of affairs is placed where every *Scotsman*, both for the glory of the nation and his own interest, would wish to have it; and the time is at length arrived, when the being born in *Scotland* shall be found to be the best and most effectual recommendation to preferment in *England*. In this I speak not only my own private opinion, but the sense of our whole nation.

It is on this occasion become fashionable to ask, what pretence can the *Scots* have, who bear no proportion in wealth and power to the English nation, who by no means bear an equal share of the public expence, who reserve to themselves all their own places, to grasp at all places of the greatest honour and profit in *England*, and to aim at getting every valuable employment into their own hands? Our answer to this is ready. We found our right to sharing every thing in common with the English on the *Union*, and we justify our endeavouring to engross every thing to our own use, on the common principle of prudence, which teaches every man to do as well for himself as he can. Whatever inequality there might have been before the *Union* was completed, it afterwards entirely ceased, and we were all upon a level. Our national weakness and poverty might perhaps have been well and properly argued to prevent that treaty from taking place; but after the conclusion of it they can never be given as reasons for our not turning it as much as possible to our own advantage. The *Union* indeed was not of our seeking; we opposed it with our whole force, for we considered it as contrary to the *dignity* and *interest* of our nation. Notwithstanding the specious pretences on

which that treaty was grounded, and the seeming equity and impartiality with which it was planned and conducted, we could not persuade ourselves but the weaker nation would in the common course of things be swallowed up in the stronger, and our *most antient* kingdom by degrees become a province of England. These were our apprehensions, and on these we grounded our opposition. If time has proved our error, if things have taken quite a different turn; if through the great parts of our glorious countryman, and our own supple behaviour, dissimulation, and temporizing, we have turned the *Union* to our own advantage; if we see ourselves arrived at the height of our wishes, and consider England as a country intended for our use and refreshment, where we may revel at large, and scorn to ask the lordly owners leave; if this is the case, the English must thank themselves for it. They made the *Union*, and can have no right to complain of the consequences of it; they laid these advantages open to us, and as we have had the address to obtain, I trust we shall have the resolution to preserve them.

If we turn our eyes to the year forty-six, and compare our situation then with what it is now, how happy a reverse shall we find in our affairs! A great part of our nation was at that time in open rebellion against the *grandfather* of his *present majesty*. They threatened no less than the destruction of his *whole family*, and to place on the throne one of the same name and family with our present loyal patron. The principles of those amongst us, whom *fear* or *prudence* kept quiet, were strongly suspected; and the very name of a *Scot* was grown into hatred and contempt. How happy, as well as wonderful, is the change; for now, *without having given any proof of a change of sentiments on our parts*, we find ourselves caressed, respected, and preferred! The Earl of BUTE, JOHN STUART, a name ever dear to us, whose abilities, we think, are no more to be doubted than his affection to us, possesses the first post
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in the state; another* of our worthy countrymen, remarkable for his impartial and intripid administration of Justice, holds a conspicuous station in the law; and a third §, whose conduct and success in *America* does honour to his country, and endears him even to the English, is to our great joy appointed to a command of the first importance in *Portugal*. These are circumstances, which, although glorious in themselves, yet seem to *promise* something more, and to be the forerunners of that national grandeur to which we have always aspired, though, till this juncture, there was little likelihood of our obtaining it.

In the prosecution of this grand design we must naturally expect to meet with difficulties. The jealousy of the English will undoubtedly take the alarm, and endeavour to prevent our progress. But, alas! how weak and contemptible must that opposition be! *How shall they be able to resist us, when they cannot agree among themselves!* They may indeed vent their fury in words, and satisfy their anger with reproaches; they may tell us of our perpetual enmity to them before the *Union*, and our supercilious contempt of them since; they may charge us with repeated perfidies and rebellions, with hypocrisy and disaffection; but we shall surely know our own interests better than to pay any regard to the frantic passion of losing gamesters. This very storm of words will in time subside; their natural indolence will resume its place; they will not only be contented, but even thankful to us for taking the trouble of state affairs off their hands; and gratefully deem the profits and honours we receive inadequate to the fatigue we undergo.

In our disputes with the English there hath always been one subject, our *poverty*, with which they have so *illiberally* and *falsely* reproached us. If truth and reason

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can

* Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of England,

§ Earl of London,

can be attended to amidst clamour and prejudice, we might produce numberless instances how improperly we are charged in this respect. I shall only mention two. When LORD DARNLY was married to MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, he applied to the *City of Edinburgh* for a loan, and we can make it appear by unquestionable authority, however incredible it may seem to our English readers, that the *City of Edinburgh* alone agreed to advance, and did actually raise for his use, even at that time, the entire sum of *twenty pounds*: and at this day it is a known truth, that *the kingdom of SCOTLAND alone pays near half as much as the whole county of YORK*. If these instances are not thought sufficient to remove the objection, we will at least promise our good friends the English to remove it at their cost; and we hope in a short time to give them more reason to complain of our being rich, than ever they had to reproach us with our being poor.

One thing there is yet wanting to complete the happiness of our present situation, that the money which our countrymen receive in *England* may be expended in *Scotland*. This indeed is in some measure, but not fully, answered by the strict caution they use to deal with none but *Scots*. The only means I can think of to bring this to bear would be (if that is not flattering ourselves too much) the residence of our most gracious sovereign amongst us, if not entirely, at least by way of refreshment, for the winter months. I know but one objection to this, which is, that the last king but one, who committed himself to our care, we sold, though our countryman, into the hands of his rebel subjects: but in the present humour of the times this objection might not occur, or might be obviated; for the same consideration of interest which then made us false, would now make us true.

If you think this feasible, and likely to take place soon, I will stay here contented in expectation of so desirable an event; if not, I desire you will procure me
a sum

a sum sufficient to bring myself and family to town in such a way as may not discredit our cause. I shall depend on you likewise to prepare such accommodations as may be proper, and some little snug place for the present, till a better can be had. As to titles, that is a matter which requires some consideration, they being of late years grown so cheap, that I do not know, whether it will be for my credit to accept of any.

I am,

My dear NORTH BRITON,

Your loving Countryman.

NUMB. V. SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1762.

Dabitur mora parvula, dum res,
Nota urbi et populo, contingat PRINCIPIS aures.
Dedecus ILLE domus sciet ultimus.

A day of two of anxious life you gain,
Till loud reports through all the town have pass'd,
And reach'd the prince.

JUVENAL.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

THE fatal consequences which must necessarily arise from a prince's resigning himself to the absolute direction of a *favourite*, were strongly described in the MONITORS of the 22d of May and the 12th of June, and fully illustrated in the kings of France and Poland, who have lately fallen victims to a confidence misplaced in an enterprising minister by the latter, and in an intriguing mistress by the former. The intent of

those papers was undoubtedly patriotic, and, like a mirror, they may serve to exhibit to future princes the unhappy effects of placing implicit trust in any one *favourite*, in contempt of the salutary advice of such faithful subjects, as have in days of difficulty proved themselves friends to their country, and steadily attached to *their* Royal Family.

Instances of this kind may produce very proper effects in the minds of those who are not so self-sufficient as to believe, that in similar situations their abilities would enable them to convert those very incidents, which have been the ruin of others, into solid foundations, on which they could erect a superstructure of happiness for themselves.

Examples however of *successful virtue* prove generally stronger incentives to glorious actions. It may therefore perhaps be more expedient, instead of painting the miseries which a country must be involved in, if governed by an insolent *favourite*, to shew the peculiar felicity of a prince and people rescued from the tyrannous slavery of a *court minion*, exemplified in the deliverance of this country by the noble and manly conduct of EDWARD the THIRD. The reign of his Father and predecessor, EDWARD the SECOND, is distinguished in history as the reign of *favourites*: to his unbounded affection for them, may be ascribed the various misfortunes that afflicted this country at that time; and by those attachments, the affections of the OLD Nobility were so alienated from him, that he became involved in disputes which terminated with the loss of his crown and life.

The deposing of this prince was not productive of all that happiness, which the nation was taught to expect from it. The people, it is true, saw themselves delivered from the troubles which had disturbed the late reign; but they were not freed from the fears of falling into a more dreaded situation. They knew what the government of a weak and imprudent king could

could do, but they were unexperienced as to the effects of a minority under the direction of a *Mother*, actuated by strong passions, and influenced by an insolent minister.----By the laws of the realm it was necessary that a Regency, consisting of twelve of the nobility, should be appointed for the government of the state; but though the form of this was complied with, and the *Earl of Lancaster* a near relation to the king, was nominated President, yet *Mortimer*, afterwards Earl of March, was, through the ascendancy he had obtained over the *Queen Mother*, in fact the sole Regent. At his pleasure the great officers of state were appointed, or removed; he assumed the authority of the king, and solely possessed his ear: the king's uncles, the president of the regency, and the whole of the nobility, were not suffered to approach their sovereign, unless their opinions coincided with *Mortimer's*; and in their intercourse, only permitted in this manner, care was taken to have his Majesty so surrounded by spies, that the minister could not fail to receive information of every measure intended to injure him in the opinion of the king. Thus educated under the guidance of his *Mother*, thus secured by the custody of *Mortimer*, he was easily persuaded to believe that *Mortimer* was a faithful friend, and a consummate minister.

Mortimer, now in the zenith of his power, soon gave proofs of the weakness of his head, and the wickedness of his heart; for *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, taking advantage of the minority of the king, and the want of stability in his councils, sent a powerful army to invade *England*. EDWARD opposed them in person; but the inferiority of the Scottish army was so great, that they declined an engagement, and fled before the arms of EDWARD, laying waste the country in their retreat: at length EDWARD came up with them at Stanhope-park; but they, during his making the necessary dispositions for an attack, and under the cover of a dark night, silently decamped; and before EDWARD was informed
of

of their flight, had got to such a distance, that it was impossible for his army to overtake them. This escape was generally imputed to *Mortimer*, and the consequences of it confirmed the suspicion; for instead of EDWARD'S pursuing the Scots into their own country at the head of a formidable army, and compelling them to accept of such terms as he might think fit to grant them, a shameful *peace* was concluded for him by the influence of *Mortimer*; such a *peace* as, historians say, was profitable to the *Queen Mother* and *Mortimer*, but inconsistent with the honour of the king and the profit of the realm and people.

“ Being therefore so great in authority and possessions, he now drew after him more attendants than the king himself; nay, he was so sottishly blinded by false ambition, that he would expect his lord and master to rise first to him, and, if offered, would permit it. Nor would he in the least scruple to walk fast by the king as his fellow, nay sometimes walk on in state before him as his lord, looking back, and more than familiarly laughing upon his sovereign.” This is Joshua Barnes's Account. History of Edward the Third, printed at Cambridge, 1688, folio. Dedicated to King James the Second; licensed by authority, p. 46.

When we survey *Mortimer*, thus established in the plenitude of power, filling all the offices of state with his creatures, banishing the relations and friends of the young king from court, and suffering none to approach him, but such as were continually employed in trumpeting the praise of *Mortimer* and the uprightness of his administration, it would have been impossible for us to account for the sudden revolution that followed, had not the historians left us a clue to lead us through this labyrinth; for they scruple not to affirm that as *Mortimer* was indebted for the enormity of his power to a criminal correspondence with the *Queen Mother*, so to honest insinuations of this given to the king must be ascribed

cribed his amazing downfall. And although *Barnes* seems to discredit the report, by saying, "Surely who-
 " ever considers the inequality of the *Queen's* age with
 " that of *Mortimer's*, she being little more than thirty,
 " and he at least more than fifty, will rather believe,
 " that by his subtle and crafty insinuations he made him-
 " self necessary to the *Queen's* councils, than that his
 " person could ever render him acceptable to her bed;
 " she herself being accounted one of the most delicate
 " ladies of that age; whereas he was not only a married
 " man, but a father of eleven children."

Barnes's History, p. 54.---Yet *Rapin* makes no doubt
 of the truth of this assertion, and says, "The article
 " of his impeachment concerning his commerce with
 " the *Queen* is a clear evidence, how much the whole
 " kingdom was offended at their familiarity. If it had
 " not been notorious, there is no likelihood that the
 " parliament would have wounded that princess's ho-
 " nour so deeply, which could not but reflect on the
 " king her son. They who have endeavoured to vin-
 " dicate her, by the little probability that a princess of
 " so high a rank should so far forget herself, did not
 " consider, that a few years before the three daughters-
 " in-law of *Philip the Fair* were as regardless of their
 " reputations, by the confessions of all the historians."
Rapin's History, translated by Tindal, 8vo. 3d vol.
 p. 241. Printed at London.

Leaving this fact however unascertained by the his-
 torians, it is clear that at length some insinuations were
 thrown out before the king, concerning the immensity
 of *Mortimer's* power and mal-administration: these en-
 gaged EDWARD to examine into affairs, and he was
 made to observe, that the Earl of March affected to
 outshine his sovereign by a magnificence too splendid
 for any subject; that he disposed of all the great offices
 of the kingdom to his creatures; that he was absolute
 master of the fate of the *English*, advancing or displacing
 them in proportion as they were calculated to serve the
 base

base purposes of his own interest, without regard to that of his country; that the shameful peace concluded with the Scots was of his making; that by his private orders, Edward the Second was murdered; that by his secret practices the Earl of Kent, the king's uncle, lost his life; that it appeared very probable that the queen and her minister had formed the design of securing in their hands the royal authority, *by keeping him always a minor*; and lastly, that his influence over the queen arose from a correspondence with her dishonourable to his Majesty, as it was affirmed she had lately been impregnate by him.----This is Barnes's account, p. 47.

These informations coinciding with the suspicions of EDWARD, he, with a resolution and judgment unequalled in history, in person seized *Mortimer* in the presence of the *Queen Mother*, and sent him to the Tower; then called a Parliament, told them, "That though not yet arrived at the age prescribed by law, yet, with the consent of his subjects, he designed for the future holding the reins of government in his own hands." To this the Parliament cheerfully assented, the members being equally ready to second his designs; and as a proof of it, *Mortimer* was condemned to be executed at Tyburn; which was done without shewing him any favour.----These are the plain facts, as related by the best English historians.

Thus did EDWARD wipe off the blemishes which had sullied his minority; thus, taking the reigns of government into his own hands, did he give a happy presage of the glory and prosperity of his future reign, the brightest perhaps in the annals of England. O may Britain never see such a day again! when power acquired by profligacy may lord it over this Realm; when the feeble pretensions of a *court minion* may require the prostitution of royalty for their support; or if, which heaven avert! such a day should come, may a Prince truly jealous of the honour of his House, and armed with

with the intrepidity of EDWARD THE THIRD, crush the aspiring wretch who mounts to power by such ignoble means.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant.

NUMB. VI. SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1762.

Utinam Respublica stetisset, quo erat, statu, nec in homines non tam COMMUTANDARUM, quàm EVERTENDARUM cupidos incidisset.

I could wish the commonwealth to have been in its former situation, rather than to have fallen among men not so much desirous of its change as its total destruction. CICERO.

I Now sit down to endeavour not only to quiet the minds of my countrymen under their present fear of impending evils, but to give them the best grounded hopes of the halcyon days which are to succeed, and to crown all our fondest wishes, from this auspicious æra *incipient magni procedere menses*. No month nor scarcely day, but shall be marked with white, and graced with some acts of bounty and favour to my countrymen, either openly here, or secretly in the *English* colonies, and in the late numerous conquests. I think indeed, that the more glaring marks of honour, profit, or confidence, should, in good policy, be at present withheld from us, or very sparingly given, for they are too invidious; but it is surely right to proceed in dealing out to us, and to us alone, all those essential benefits and *good things*, which are so various in all parts, and are held almost unknown, and consequently unenvied.

I find

I find that it is absolutely necessary more fully to explain myself, because many of my friends are exceedingly alarmed from the fear of our standing alone in the present political fray, and are continually lamenting, that almost all those who were esteemed good, great, or amiable among the *English*, have either refused to serve under our *Chief*, or have given open proofs of their dissatisfaction with a *Scottish* administration, and of their resolution soon to leave us *North Britons* to ourselves. The great danger many apprehend from this does not strike me. I rather think such an event would be advantageous to us. We should then attain the completion of all our views, the entire possession of the revenues of this whole country, and should be saved the trouble of making a general sweep of our rivals, the *English*, which our friends strenuously advise us to do. This advice is far from being new, or unprecedented. The *Tories* at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign were believed to have failed from this very omission, the not removing all of the *Whig* leaven from the employments they possessed. Our services would even then be inadequately rewarded, if it is considered how long we have been kept under by *English* and *Whiggish* administrations, which have ever declared they never could trust us.

We have besides a superior claim of merit to the *English*. Our countryman the *BRITON* has enumerated the many conquests the *Scots* have made, and the many victories they have gained, at *Cape Breton*, *Ticonderoga*, *Fort Due Quesne*, and *Quebec*, in *Guadalupe*, and *Martinique*, before the walls of *Pondicherry*, and in the plains of *Westphalia*, &c. &c. with little assistance from the *English*. I believe he has omitted but two of our late glories; the victories of *Preston-Pans* and *Falkirk*, gained, I own, without the least assistance from the *English*; who, undoubtedly from a principal of envy, cannot bear the mention of either, but are for ever rejoicing over *Culloden*, as a victory of truer national importance than even
Hockstet.

Hockstet. How many insolent songs of triumph have they made for that single victory of *Culloden*! With what noble strains of rapture has that whole nation celebrated their second great deliverer, as they call him, the *Duke of Cumberland*! But surely *our* bards have at least equalled theirs, though in a different strain. How pathetic have been *our* lamentations! How has *our* admired elegy of *Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn,* echoed from hill to hill! With what tearful eyes is it still sung by every true *Scot*! In what moving strains did our bards celebrate their dear country's *sons lying slaughtered on the ground*, on that fatal day! fatal I mean to such numbers of my friends and countrymen.

Besides this general claim of merit, we desire to put in another, the strongest possible, arising from the merit of our great patron. What amazing proofs has he given the world of the most consummate abilities, and the truest wisdom! I do not mean that sinister and crooked wisdom, called *cunning*, which alone, our enemies say, we possess to any great degree; but I speak of that great and comprehensive knowledge, which takes in the general plan of the whole, and yet is able to adapt itself to all the parts. Has he not a great, *and indeed national*, system? None but Englishmen can suppose he has not, and they must injuriously and enviously pretend, that he has been found to fluctuate daily from a total want of all precision of ideas, and knowledge of the connection of things.

Let us however examine the fact, and then we shall see, if our fears of being left to ourselves are well grounded, or not. The *Duke of Newcastle*, it is said, (whose signal services to the house of *Hanover* are almost sufficient to outweigh all the demerits and traitorous attempts of the many noble families, whose letters to the *PRETENDER* makes almost the whole volume of *Colonel Hooke's negotiations*) has quitted the service of that illustrious family we are all now crowding to support Mr. *PITT*, whose administration heaven blessed with
such

such distinguished success, has likewise retired. Mr. LEGGE, who is so confessedly superior, I believe unrivalled, in the important knowledge of the finances of this kingdom, and of its late powerful rival, is at present only a most amiable private gentleman, happy in his family, and in the circle of his select friends, who now enjoy, free from interruption, an inexhaustible fund of refined sense and classical wit. There are likewise some others, in whom the nation has the justest confidence, who are preparing to take their flight from us.

But can it be said, that all the *English* ministers either have, or intend to leave us? Is not the virtuous Mr. Fox, the darling of the people, still very high in office, and in one of the most lucrative employments the government has to bestow? Does he not privately assist our *Chief* with the most *salutary* counsels? Has he not proposed the most *healing* measures? We know that he is ready publicly to stand forth our champion, and that he has most explicitly offered us some time ago *to speak, or not to speak*, in the senate. Can *this* part of that great man's conduct be deemed equivocal? It has indeed hitherto been thought adviseable for him to remain silent, and for some few years his lips have been locked in adamant silence, *from a full conviction of the rectitude of the public measures*. His regard to *us* however we have the strongest reason to believe, and we are secure (unless indeed a new change happens) of his effectual support of *us*, against all his own countrymen, with his amazing powers of eloquence. What then may we not expect from the violence and impetuosity of such a torrent, which, like a stream from our Highlands, after having stopt for some years, on a sudden bursts forth again---but I hope not to ruin the country. I am sure this gentleman will never concur in, much less advise, any measures but such as shall appear *soothing and conciliating*. His tenderness for the Constitution, and his affection for the House of Commons in particular, have been

been fully experienced; nor will he ever *desire to have the whip in his hands, to lash into obedience the refractory members.** The people of England too will be made happy with the idea of power being lodged in his hands; and we *North Britons* shall see with joy and gratitude his unwearied endeavours to perfect the noble plan of liberty delivered down to us from our Scottish ancestors. The happiest consequences will in every way be derived to the Public; and I hope soon to hear of the recovery of *Minorca*, which, as I remember was most ignominiously, though I believe not treacherously, lost, when he was secretary of state.

There is likewise another gentleman, whom by the most amiable arts, which would do us honour, were they known to the world, we have entirely secured, and detached from his friends (and *di boni!* what friends?) and family, to whom he has such infinite obligations: but *omnes omnium caritates patria nostra una complexa est.* This is not in itself a wonderful acquisition; but I consider it as the first-fruits of our labours among the great families of the English nobility; and I hope soon to see among them many other glorious effects (both in public and private) of our fixed maxim, *divide et impera.* This gentleman has already spurned at all obligations, and has broke through whatever would have engaged every other man, for he has sacrificed every social and friendly tie to cement the union with us. His intense zeal (a symptom frequent among apostates and renegadoes) has been demonstrated on many late occasions; and in a great assembly, if he has failed to persuade, he has never failed to weary out the adversary, and to sink him into a deadly lassitude, perhaps a lethargy. How most fervently have all parties concurred in wishing him in a certain chair? We have the more obligations to this

C

gentleman

* This expression, and the former, *to speak, or not to speak,* were the particular phrases used by Mr. Fox, in a private treaty, or rather bargain, for ministerial power.

gentleman for taking the Seals, because he is not the child of *ambition*, nor is his great soul tainted with sordid *avarice* :* that is only the vice of reptile and groveling minds. Though he has left the naval department, he has not, I trust, left behind him all attention to that most important business. I hope he will think of some other regulations to prevent the late almost incredible desertion of seamen from the royal navy, which his new regulations (so applauded by Boscawen and our other great sea officers, and so grateful to all our commanders) were intended to prevent. When the public is favoured with the next pleasing print of this gentleman, I hope the artist will have reason to adorn the other hand with *An Act to prevent desertion from the royal navy*, which, till it is accomplished, I shall believe the other boasted *Act for the encouragement of the seamen, &c.* is of as much use in the print as any where else.

These are the two illustrious personages on the part of *England*, who support our *Scottish Chief*. How nobly conspicuous in both is the amiable frankness and openness of heart of the *English* nation ! I only name these two, for the fidelity of others to *us* is dubious and suspected. Some have already begun to calumniate *our* patron, and even talk of retaliating our own arts on us.

I will only add, how greatly must this island, and above all *our dear country*, now figure to the whole continent ? The most real union among all the parts of government, and the whole body of the *English* nation, no less joined with us in *hearts* than in *interests*, rising up, like one man, to support the new *Scottish* pillar of the state ! What satisfaction has the *Czar* expressed in our *firm* and *united* councils ! What unbounded confidence has the *King of Prussia* in this new *North British* administration ! and with what unfeigned rapture will *France* receive :

* It is reported, that in a great assembly, he said, *I am not the child of ambition, nor of avarice, &c.*

receive the news, that there is no longer a first minister in this island from their *ancient enemy* England; but from their firm and unshaken ally, SCOTLAND.

NUMB. VII. SATURDAY, JULY 17, 1762.

Quod optanti diu promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.

Revolving time has accomplished that for you, for which you might have prayed eternally in vain.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

My dear Countryman,

SUFFER me to intermingle tears of joy with you on our present happy situation, and to heighten your satisfaction, give me leave to exhibit to you a glimpse of futurity. The English (Mr. *Horace Walpole* only excepted) pretend to an equal *partition of good sense* with us; but there is one most noble intellectual gift they have never pretended to share with us. We have monopolized it from them and from all the world unenvied. It is a particular mark of the favour of heaven, as all our divines say, to the chosen *Scots*. I mean the gift of *second sight*, which, though laughed at by every sensible man of every other nation, we all believe to be really possessed in an eminent degree by many of our countrymen, and to be found among us in the highest perfection, where there are no traces of common sense, nor the first principles of any science. By this happy gift I have approximated many objects in the *camera obscura* of futurity, and I trust you with the most

pleasing view, Whether you will choose to make the whole discovery, or any part of it, public, I shall submit to your discretion, concluding, with repeated congratulations.

Your's,

B. MAC STUART.

THE
FUTURE CHRONICLE:
OR, THE
NOVA SCOTIA INTELLIGENCER.

YESTERDAY morning the two new-raised regiments of Highland guards were reviewed in Hyde Park by his grace the duke of *Inverness*; who was pleased to say, "They kenn'd their business right weel, and went through their exercise very connily."

We hear that the Earl of *Loudon* will have the command of the forces destined against *Louisburg*. His lordship is descended from the great Earl of *Loudon*, who, by gallant achievements in that quarter of the globe, acquired the surname of *Americanus*.---It is said that his lordship will certainly appoint Capt. *Abercrombie* one of his aids du camp.

Last night the Marquis of *Kirkudbright* arrived at *Holyrood*, late *Buckingham* house, from his government of *Ireland*, where his prudent and frugal administration has gained him the hearts of all ranks of people. His excellency was attended to the water-side by the lord mayor and aldermen of *Dublin*, with pipers before them, playing the tune of Highland laddy, in compliment to his excellency, with which (if we may judge from the various contortions of his features and writhings of his shoulders) his excellency was highly delighted.

Several

Several disorderly persons were yesterday taken into custody, being charged with drinking the glorious memory of *King William*, confusion to the *Stuarts*, and divers other treasonable toasts.

The managers of both theatres have received orders to lay aside the custom of representing the tragedy of *Tamerlane* on *King William's* birth-day, and instead thereof to entertain the public on that occasion with *Home's Douglas* and the *Gentle Shepherd*.

Great rejoicing have been made by all loyal subjects on hearing that the heirs of the illustrious houses of *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were restored to the honours of their ancestors.

Lord *Lovat*, being appointed lord high commissioner, is preparing to set out for Edinburgh to preside at the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland.

Yesterday the Duke of *Inverary*, Lord High Admiral of England, gave a grand entertainment at Portsmouth on occasion of putting into commission the two men of war of eighty guns each. They were named the *Falkirk* and *Preston Pans*. The *Cumberland* and *Culloden* were ordered to be laid up.

Strict orders are issued forth to prohibit the use of calves or cods heads from the 29th to the 31st of January, both inclusive.

At the last sessions held at the Old Bailey, *John Hampden* and *William Orange* were tried and convicted on the Whig act before Lord Chief Justice *Womansmeadow*, who, after a very learned and elegant oration in favour of the liberties of the press and people, sentenced both the delinquents to the punishment due to their demerits.

Last night, to the unspeakable loss of the public, died the most high, most puissant, and most noble Prince, John Duke of Peebles, knight of the most noble order of the garter, &c. &c. &c. &c. His grace had for many years presided at the board of treasury with equal ability and integrity. He was so severe in collecting the pub-

lic revenue, that the window tax of the ISLE OF BUTE in one year, produced the clear sum of *thirteen Shillings and Six-pence*. To him we are indebted for the improvement of our knowledge, the refinement of our taste, and the elegance of our manners. Such was his grace's early affection for this country, that even in the infancy of his administration he prevailed on numbers of his accomplished countrymen to leave their native land, and dedicate their talents to the emolument of England: many of them he even persuaded to accept of places at court, by which means the language became polished to the highest degree of *Caledonian* purity. To enumerate his grace's virtues would require the pen of Macpherson, or a Lauder; however we have the pleasure to assure the public that a beautiful elegy on the melancholy occasion is promised, as soon as the paroxysm of grief shall have subsided, by the ingenious gentleman who chooses to distinguish himself by the title of the BRITON.

Some time since died Mr: John Bull, a very worthy, plain, honest, old gentleman, of Saxon descent; he was choaked by inadvertently swallowing a *thistle*, which he had placed by the way of ornament on the top of his salad. For many years before he had enjoyed a remarkable good state of health.

Worthy Englishmen!

Heaven and earth call upon you with one voice to reinstate me in your favour. While you placed your confidence in me, I was the defender of your liberties, and am desirous of discharging that glorious duty to the end of time. To my auspicious schemes you owe the illustrious house of Hanover, equally famed for mildness and valour; to my resolution and conduct you owe the expulsion of a family equally infamous for tyranny and cowardice. Vindicate your honour ere it be too late, and beware of cherishing vipers in your bosoms.

WHIG REVOLUTION,
Born anno 1688, confirmed 1715,
married April 16, 1746.

This

This Day is published, a new Edition,
Adorned with an elegant Head of that glorious Monarch,
The Works of King JAMES the FIRST,
Of learned, pious, and peaceful memory.

To which is now added, His Art of *Hocus Pocus*.
From an original MS. lately dug out of the Ruins of Stirling-
Castle.

Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt. VIRG.

Printed for A. Macdonald, at the Dunciad, in Scotland-Yard.

Proposals for Printing by Subscription,
BOWER TRIUMPHANT,
OR,
SCOTTISH INNOCENCE VINDICATED.

An ESSAY, by WILLIAM LAUDER.

Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes. VIRG.

With a PREFACE by Lord LITTLEWIT.

And a *full Length* of his Lordship; done from an original
Caricatura of Nature.

Printed at Glasgow, and sold by all the Scots Bookfellers.

To-morrow will be published,
O THE ROAST BEEF!
OR,
THE CASE IS ALTERED.

A PROSE POEM in the modern Taste.

By Lazarus Mac Barebones, of Scotstar-vit, Esq.

Peace and Plenty tell a Stuart reigns. POPE.

Dr. TICKLEWRIST thinks it is more his duty than his interest to acquaint the public, that his Titillatory Elixir is a soveraign remedy for the present epidemical distemper. It is safe, cheap, and pleasant in its operation, and never fails to give immediate ease in the most violent paroxysms. Nay, the Doctor may with truth affirm, that most of his patients have found the medicine so extremely agreeable, that they wish for a continuance of the disorder merely to have the pleasure of using it; for to persons unafflicted it is totally insipid. The Doctor may be spoken with at the Crown and Thistle in Little-Britain. He also teaches on very moderate terms, to play upon the Fiddle.

Mr. MAC PHERSON's fifteenth Course of Lectures on Oratory began yesternight, and will be continued *timeously* every evening, the Sabbath only excepted. Select passages out of *Allan Ramsay*, and other celebrated writers, will be read for the better illustration of the precepts. At the conclusion of the course, Mr. Mac Pherson purposes a general exercitation of all his pupils, as formerly; but as many of them have on foregoing occasions, through want of a proper command of voice, run into discordant notes, to the great annoyance of the delicate ears of the North British nobility, who have attended to mark the progress of the young gentlemen, it is expected that for the future they will submit to have their voices properly pitched by the drone of a bag-pipe. The professor, if required, wears gloves.

LONDON: Printed for BLUESTRING MAC STUART,
at the Star and Garter, in the Minories.

NUMB. VIII. SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1762.

PLACUISSE NOCET.

To obtain favour, he does mischief.

WHEN we consider how fashionable the word *favourite* is grown, how common in every mouth, what a remarkable stress is laid upon it, and with what marks of discontent it is generally accompanied, we are naturally induced to think that there is at present some one person, signified under the name of *favourite*, who is raised to an extraordinary degree of power and credit, without any title to that preference from superior integrity and abilities, and from whose influence the rights and liberties of the people seem to be in danger. This idle notion is greatly strengthened by the weekly retailers of politics. The MONITOR talks of COUNT BRUHL, and the BRITON, with his usual honesty and penetration, seems willing to acquire a property in that paper by bringing it home to the present times, and drawing such comparisons as no man of sense could, and no true BRITON ought to draw. The AUDITOR, with that caution which always implies a consciousness of guilt, deals out his laboured notions of *favouritism*, wantonly asperses the most amiable characters, and exalts the most despicable, but with such peculiar symptoms, with such strong marks of falshood, and such plain fear of detection, that his praises and his censures equally speak a heart arguing against his own conviction. The NORTH BRITON, following the example of his brethren, gave the public an account *from history, and chiefly in the words of history*, of ROGER MORTIMER, who in the reign of EDWARD the Third was the notorious favourite and supposed minion of the Queen Mother, and the BRITON in his excellent observations on that paper

per calls it, with a clearness of expression peculiar to himself, AN ATALANTIS. If I do not understand that word properly, I should be glad that my worthy friend the BRITON would set me right; but if I do understand it properly, I should be much obliged to him if he will shew me with what propriety it is applied to that paper.

It is something strange how this subject of *favourites* could at this time insinuate itself into common conversation, and demand the consideration of the public. I will venture to say, and undertake to prove, that since the glorious, successful, and upright administration under which MINORCA fell into the hands of the FRENCH, there hath not appeared in a public capacity any one man on whom the name of *favourite*, in the odious acceptance of the word, can possibly be fixed. Had we seen a man, during that time, raised to the highest honours and most important place, without any merit to justify his *glorification*, without any one recommendation but the blind affection of his Sovereign; had we found him solely attached to his own interests, taking advantage of the confidence reposed in him by his master, in order to abuse that sacred trust, tampering with his pliant disposition, making himself necessary to his foibles and passions, separating the interests of king and subject, advising such measures as must naturally estrange the affections of his people, and drawing him into trifling amusements, merely to take off his attention from things of consequence, so that the management and disposition of places might remain entirely in himself and his creatures, *such a man* would be the first who ought to be branded with the name of *favourite*; a name always attended with odium, and oftentimes with danger. The NORTH BRITON ought publicly to stand forth against such a man, and endeavour to point against him the resentment of a people equally jealous of the honour of their Sovereign and their own. On the contrary, when we see men, actuated with a real regard for their country, acting on the best of principles

principles, uniting, what indeed ought never to be separated, the good of the prince and the people, and pursuing the most noble ends by those means which seem most likely to produce them; when we see such men honoured with the confidence of their Sovereign, possessed of the first offices of state, holding the reins of government, and *guiding* our most important affairs, we congratulate ourselves on having such ministers, we detest those incendiaries who would represent them to us in the disagreeable light of *favourites*, and are happy in acknowledging, that the esteem which a Sovereign entertains for such ministers is real judgment, and the rewards he bestows on them is justice, and not favour. Cheap as we hold the ENGLISH in politics, we cannot suppose them so far gone in absurdity, as to brand any man with a name which hath ever carried along with it an idea of detestation, merely because he stands high in the esteem of his prince. We must in justice suppose that they consider him as unworthy of that esteem, as a disgrace to the person who countenances, and a load to the country who suffers him, and that their resentments are founded, and the name of favourite affixed to him, on these considerations. If this be the real case, (and no Englishman for his own credit will venture to contradict it) I shall then shew the impropriety of the present bustle about *favourites*, by instancing particularly in the three great men on whom prejudice, envy, or interest have fixed this name, and proving that, as a term of reproach, it cannot be applicable to either of them.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, whose integrity was never yet called in question, whose heart was justified even by his enemies under a long and sometimes unsuccessful administration, can never be charged with this odious appellation. His services to the present royal family ran before his reward, and his strict attachment to his Sovereign, his known and steady loyalty, his uniform and unshaken zeal, justly entitled him to those marks of preference

preference which he afterwards received, and which can never be deemed the wanton vouchsafements of royal favour, but must be regarded, by every impartial considerer, as the just reward of his deserts, as the noble retributions of a grateful and generous prince to a subject truly affectionate and disinterested; disinterested in so eminent a degree, that to his enemies it is matter of triumph, though to his friends it shall never be the cause of shame. As his services before he had any share in the administration of affairs gave him a just claim to the places which he afterwards held, so his behaviour whilst he continued in them entitled him to that honourable retirement in which he is now indulged.

Mr. PITT stands yet less liable to the charge of being a *favourite*; merit alone brought him into the ministry; merit alone kept him there, till, happily for us, he had the superior merit of our countryman to combat with, which was not to be withstood. If we consider rightly, it is impossible that Mr. PITT should ever have been a favourite, though his abilities were of such a nature as to make his assistance necessary. He came in upon an opposition; he had formed himself on a plan directly contrary to the humour of our late Sovereign; he was determined to come into no ministerial jobs; he spoke his mind freely on every occasion; when convinced, he was always ready to change his opinion and alter his measures, but had the impudence to expect conviction before he did it; he never was afraid to bring the voice of the people to the ear of his Sovereign; he was of such unshaken secrecy, that during the whole course of his ministry he gave no opportunity to the most willing of discovering our designs to the enemy; he was of such unpardonable attention to business, that the most minute occurrences in his department passed not without examination; he was such a bigot to the interests of the public, that no private connections whatever could induce him to prefer an undeserving person; he was of such unbounded ambition, that he raised the
honour

honour of the English name to a much greater height than any of his predecessors; he was so extravagantly opposite to the measures usually adopted on such occasions, that he was foolishly resolved not to give up in treaty what we had gained in war; he was so immoderate in his demands, that our enemies saw through them with a just indignation, and were convinced he would make *a good peace, or none at all*; he was so jealous of his ministerial reputation, and so envious of those who should succeed him, that in order to prevent their doing of any thing, he left little or nothing for them to do. With these bars against him, and nothing but some small share of success to back his own merit, it would be needless to observe, that he certainly never could justly be suspected of being a *favourite*.

As to the third person, his services are of such a nature, that---- but lest I should be suspected of partiality I shall drop this point, and in compliance with the humour of the times, however contrary to my own, give some account of WILLIAM DE LA POLE, *Earl of Suffolk*, and for a time, *favourite* of QUEEN MARGARET and HENRY *the Sixth*.

That prince, now nineteen years old, had a very mean genius, and but little like his father's. He easily suffered himself to be governed by those about him. Instead of having the presumption common to young princes, he was distrustful of himself, and chose rather to follow the counsels of others than his own. With this weakness he had principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which indeed made him wish he could always act justly, but often served for a foundation and pretence to his counsellors to draw him into many acts of injustice. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances. Of this his ministers knew how to take advantage, for they were convinced of his incapacity to discern their self-interested counsels.

Such being the disposition of the prince, it is natural to suppose that every intriguing statesman would endeavour

your to avail himself of it. Amongst these the Earl of *Suffolk* was not the least active; and in order to establish his authority on the most lasting grounds, he hit upon a scheme which for a time answered his purpose, *though in the end it proved his ruin*. He knew HENRY was himself incapable of governing, and consequently his ministers must necessarily be liable to envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the people. In this belief, he fancied that the best way to support himself was to give the king a *wife*, and a wife of such a kind, who having no ground naturally to aspire to such a marriage, and being intirely indebted for it to the managers, might be always ready to support her benefactors. Such a person he found in *Margaret*, daughter of a beggarly duke and titular king. Under her protection he for a time lorded it in the court, disposed of every thing at pleasure, maintained greater state, and was more observed than the king himself. The queen mother, more mindful of her passions than dignity, and forgetful she had been the wife of the greatest prince in Europe, had lost her authority by matching herself to a private gentleman; and the old nobles, disgusted with the power of *Suffolk*, had either left the court, or waited in silence for an opportunity to shew their hatred with effect against the reigning favourite. This occasion at last offered; and however dear *Suffolk* was to the king, however dear he was on several accounts to the queen, however determined they might seem, and had often declared themselves, to maintain him at all events, let the consequences be what they would, they were at last obliged to give him up to the resentment of an exasperated people, and found by experience how weak such resolutions are, when they are opposed by the people with equal resolution.

NUMB. IX. SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1762.

Destroy his fib, or sophistry, in vain,
The creature's at his dirty work again.

POPE.

I Have a considerable arrear to settle with the BRITON. My first view was to administer *a weekly antidote to the weekly poison of this writer*; but I found him so low in the opinion of the public, that little was to be feared even from the most daring falsehoods of such a man. He seems impregnable to the force of argument. I shall therefore try what impression facts may be capable of making on him. Stupidity may not apprehend, or sophistry may sometimes seem to elude the strongest reasonings, but the evidence of facts is irresistible.

The *plan of attacking the French in America*, he asserts, was ADOPTED as a national maxim, self-evident, before Mr. PITT, or any one of his emissaries was born. How comes it then that this plan was entirely overlooked by the ministry here during the course of the late war, and at the commencement of the present was pursued with a faintness almost equal to a total disregard, till Mr. PITT was in power and gave it a life and vigour? Why has Mr. PITT, for his attention to the *America system*, been so often ridiculed as *America-mad*? To retort an expression of his own. *What a genius is this at cross-purposes!*

The BRITON is not satisfied with this, but in the fulness of his folly, thinks to glorify his idol by ascribing to him the honour resulting from the conquest of *Martinique*. This (to adopt another of his phrases) is begging, or rather stealing, honour for his patron with a witness. In proof of my assertion, I need only observe, that his majesty's ship the *Alcide*, with the transports designed to take on board the troops in America, under the command of General MONCKTON, failed from Portsmouth

on the 4th of August, and arrived at New-York on the 15th of October 1761; and that Admiral RODNEY, who was to co-operate with General MONCKTON in the enterprize against *Martinique*, set sail from St. Helen's on the 18th of October, only twelve days after Mr. PITT's resignation, and but eight days after the appointment of his successor in office. Hence it irrefragably appears, that not only *the honour of inventing the plan, but of proportioning the means to the desired success, of equipping the armament with vigour and expedition, and of sending it out at a proper season under the conduct of officers of approved abilities,* is entirely due to Mr. PITT; and that all which can be fairly ascribed to the new managers is the meer *secondary* merit of not countermanding an expedition of the highest national importance. Will the BRITON dare to deny these facts? If he cannot, but is forced to admit them, then he stands at the bar of the public convicted of the most shameful falshood. Blush, BRITON, blush, but let your patrons too share the infamy of prompting and abetting to the world such known prostitution of truth and justice. Perhaps on this occasion it might not be too much to assert, that all the honour the new ministry are likely to acquire, will be greater or less, in proportion as they shall either pursue or depart from the written reasons of the 18th of September.

How inconsistent is this weak BRITON? To what mean shifts and gross contradictions has he been driven! In his fifth number he claims for the present ministry the greatest honour from the conquest of *Martinique*; and in the sixth he says, *among the oiber evil consequences of the war, I might reckon our extraordinary success.* I believe this is the first time that *extraordinary success* has been reckoned among the *evil consequences* of a war. By a parity of reason, I suppose he reckons the infamous loss of *Newfoundland*, and the late disgrace on the *coast of France*, among the *good consequences* of our affairs being trusted in such hands. What a total subversion of

all just ideas must there be in this writer's head! These are absurdities reserved for the goose-quills of the modern ministerial hirelings: this is the ridiculous cant which the poorest of all the weekly writers is taught by his patrons. If *success* however be indeed so *evil a consequence*, the want of it is surely to be esteemed a *good one*; and if we are to lament our *successes*, because they are *evil consequences*, we must rejoice over our *losses*, as *good consequences*. I suppose therefore, he and his friends must be pleased with what has given every true Briton the deepest concern, the loss of *Newfoundland*, whose infinite importance every merchant, every seaman, almost every Englishman, knows.----Our *conquests*, he says, were *obstacles to a peace*; so particularly was the affair of *Newfoundland*: and the late negotiation with the court of *France*, as well as the disputes with the court of *Spain* on *this* great point, during the *six years negotiation*, are well remembered. I hope there has been no *collusion*! Spain only demanded a *part*: France has now seized the *whole*. But why were no ships stationed to protect an object of such national importance? Is all our intelligence of the motions of the French at an end? Are their fleets no longer watched? Where is that great and good genius to *England* that superintended the British state; and while he gave security to our old possessions, made such noble additions to our empire? I hope that *Newfoundland* too is not considered as an *obstacle*, as well as our *conquests*, which must be removed to smooth the way to a peace: if it is, I know what kind of peace we are to expect. God forbid that the *uti possidetis* should now ever be mentioned as the terms of peace, while *Newfoundland* is in the hands of our enemies. Surely the loss of the whole was not *connived* at, that the part which has been claimed may with more decency be given up hereafter. It is clear to a demonstration there has been no attention given to an object which demanded the utmost a ministry could give. Ought such an administration to be trusted by

either prince or people? The noblest fleet England ever had is found, in the hands of a weak ministry, insufficient for the protection of our most important settlements. How is all security gone from us! How do our enemies, who so lately desponded, now exult from such successes; almost immediate on our change of councils! How are their spirits revived! Let us examine the ideas of the late ministry on this head. In an extract of the only letter of Mr. Pitt's which the public was trusted with, among the *Papers relative to the rupture with Spain*, published by authority, are the following words, which I wish were wrote in letters of gold under Lord Bute's picture in the royal apartments at St. James's: *You will again on this occasion let Mr. Wall clearly understand that this is a matter held sacred, and that no concession on the part of his majesty, so destructive to this true and capital interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported.* And it was in relation to this great object Mr. Pitt made use of that remarkable expression to the proud Spaniard, *that he would not relax any thing till the tower of London was taken sword in hand.* Mr. Pitt would neither suffer it to be yielded to Spain, nor taken by France. Is this the vigour and success of the new North British administration? These are the bitter first fruits from the North. What is to follow? Will the question be now asked, *what have the new ministry, or rather what has the new minister done?* He has already lost *Newfoundland*; and is inexcusable in that loss, for every thing asked from parliament to strengthen his hands was granted with cheerfulness and unanimity. Now indeed is he well paired with his colleagues, the few wretched *English* who have joined him: These lost us *Minorca*; the *Scot* lost *Newfoundland*; What dreadful events are to succeed! Is the British empire to moulder away? But I hope a most gracious prince, in compliance with the wishes of a whole people, will, before it is too late, deprive a set
of

of men (unfavoured by heaven and despised on earth) of the power they have thus infamously abused.

The BRITON proceeds in his usual absurd way. In one page he tells us of the *injudicious manner in which the war has been carried on*; and in the next he says, *our motive for engaging in this war was to defend and secure our colonies in North America. This end is fully, at least in a great measure, accomplished by the entire conquest of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton.* Who made those conquests? Has *the war then been carried on in so injudicious a manner, when the end is so fully, at least in a great measure, accomplished?* Again, he says, *This is the more dangerous, as it is unlimited: one conquest will suggest another; and we shall dance after this ignis fatuus of glory, until we are weakened, exhausted and unable to proceed.* Are not the new ministry *proceeding?* Are they not at this hour attempting to add another conquest to all the former? Does not every friend to his country burn with impatience for the glorious news of the blow we all hope is already struck to the heart of Spain? If we have already conquered too much, as he says, why go on in the same mistaken course? Why add more *obstacles to a peace?* For such he calls our *conquests.* But will even *he* say the taking of the *Havannah* will be an *obstacle* to a peace with Spain? How would a sensible foreigner despise the wretched cant of these advocates of the present minister?

Such is the letter of the *Briton* to the Earl of Bute: a letter, fit to be addressed only to, and to be read only by, his lordship. One remarkable particular I had forgot: The *Briton* gives himself out as a martyr to the *good* (he will not *now* say *glorious*) cause; but he expects his full reward here. He begins his letter, *As I have suffered in your cause* (I wish to know how, except in reputation) *I think myself in measure intitled to---* and these first words of his letter are well explained by the last---
the darling hope and ESTABLISHED expectation of the
D 2 *Briton,*

Briton, which are plainly a pension, and an *establishment* on this side the *Tweed*.

One word I must remark on the stile of this writer. In his last number but one, speaking of the late rebellion, he says, *the insurgents---had defeated a body of regular forces*. How tenderly a true Scotsman speaks of rebellion! Is he afraid of wounding a father, uncle, or brother? An Englishman would have wrote, *the rebels had defeated a body of king's forces*: but *rebels* are only *insurgents* in Scotland, and the *king's troops* are only *regular forces*! The other phrase had acknowledged a right in our soveraign, not quite so willingly owned by all his subjects in the north of this island.

In the Gazetteer of last Saturday, are the following lines, which are a noble specimen of *North British logic*.

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

I am *authorised* to send you the following article, to be printed in your paper as soon as possible.

“ That the public may not be imposed upon, and
 “ imagine the *taking* of Newfoundland was done by
 “ the consent of our ministry, we are assured that four
 “ men of war of the line and some frigates are going
 “ to sail immediately from Portsmouth to *retake* the said
 “ place.”---A most conclusive argument that *Newfoundland* was not *taken* by consent of our ministry, because, from the just clamour of an enraged people, four men of war and some frigates *are to be sent to retake* it! I suspect that my friend the BRITON is this *authorised state* writer, from the reasoning, and the phrase of the *taking being done*, which is such reasoning and English as he usually deals out to us on Saturdays.

How intirely will this article wipe away all the ill-grounded suspicion of mankind!

NUMB. X.

NUMB. X. SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1762.

Pro ARIS, et focis.

For GOD and country.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

AMONGST the many great and daring steps lately taken to raise us from obscurity, and invest us with that power and influence which we have long aspired to, but never could obtain till this happy period, when merit carries every thing before it, I am amazed that one, which in itself would be glorious, and would also give a lustre to, and ensure the continuance of, all our other acquisitions, hath so long escaped the active and discerning spirit of our *countryman*; I mean the *interests of Presbyters*. In vain do we promise ourselves a continuance of power in the *state*, unless we can find means to establish a superiority in the *church*. The clergy of *England* will naturally be zealous of our growing greatness; and the influence which they have over the minds of the populace, when considerations of interest get the better of their indolence, and demand the exertion of their strength, is too evident, and well deserves our most serious attention. From their intrigues, as soon as they enter into the real spirit of our designs, we must expect much trouble, and an opposition not to be despised. As resolute men, we ought not to be discouraged by this approaching storm, but as prudent men we ought, if possible, to prevent or break the force of it; nor doth any other method of doing this occur to me, but the levelling one great stroke immediately at the root of all their influence and power. Could we once see, what we have often wished for in

vain, *Presbytery* established on the ruins of *Episcopacy*, what good things might we not promise to ourselves! What evil things might we not have it in our power to denounce against our enemies! Then should they feel the weight of our resentment, and find to their cost *what spirit we are of*; then might we lord it with security, and, the terrors of the church co-operating with the the secular arm, our power would be *universal, absolute, and perpetual*. The precise method of bringing about this great event I cannot take upon me to determine. I leave it to those who have already accomplished things of greater difficulty; but the necessity of its being effected, in order to establish us for ever in *England*, I must positively assert. When once it is happily brought to pass, I would humbly hope, in order to give *the spirit of our profession its true and full force*, that the *act of toleration* might be immediately *repealed*.

I am, SIR, your's sincerely,

PRESBYTER.

THOUGH I cannot but commend the zeal and approve the sentiments of my correspondent, yet I must think his vehemence gets the better of his judgment, and hurries him on at such a rate, as would retard, if not overthrow, the design he is so forward to promote. Every *true Scot* is undoubtedly of his opinion; he must see the very great importance of this point, and in justice both to himself and country must burn for the accomplishment of it; but discretion steps in, and teaches us to consider this event as placed at a great distance, surrounded with difficulties, and to be brought to pass by slow degrees. Our great patron himself, *whose thoughts are always at work for our good*, hath, I will not doubt had this important object often in his view, though prudence, and not inattention, as my correspondent imagines, hath as yet restrained him from taking any open steps towards the obtaining it. Much greater caution

is requisite to bring about changes in a church than in a state. The *ecclesiastics* are an artful, subtle, and powerful body in all countries: their eyes, however dim to other things, are remarkably quick to every thing which concerns their own interests: they are generally proud, revengeful, and implacable; and yet most of them have the art to throw a veil over their evil qualities, and establish an interest in the opinions of the people. History will supply us with numberless instances of their capacity for mischief, and their success in it. Most of the revolutions in *Europe* have been chiefly owing to the intrigues of churchmen; and from the unaccountable accounts of a late unaccountable revolution* in the *North*, we may at least gather thus much, that it is safer to take off the head of a layman, than to wag a finger against the beard of a priest. Great caution therefore is requisite on our side, and I hope my countrymen will always observe it, and never let this grand point be out of our thoughts, but let discretion mark the several steps by which we make our way towards it.

It has been asserted, that as religion in *England* is at so low an ebb, and the difference between the *English* and *Scottish* church consists only in mere form, this alteration might be affected with much ease. Those who maintain this will do well to consider, that where religion prevails in its true and genuine spirit, forms are looked on with an eye of indifference; but in a nation where the true spirit of religion is lost, and nothing but forms remain, there they are considered with the greatest respect, and assume an essentiality which in themselves they have not. Besides, will they tell us that the dignities and lucrative preferment of the church are mere forms? These surely are not insubstantial phantoms; these certainly have an essence. Nor can we suppose that what hath been obtained at the expence of every *free* and *manly* sentiment, shall afterwards be given

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* The dethroning the late Czar, *Peter III.*

up by the professors tamely, and without opposition. *Talk against religion, decry morality, openly attack Scripture, corrupt the practice, unsettle the faith of mankind, naturalize Jews, confound marriages*---still every thing is well, all is safe and quiet.---But if you would destroy, or lessen the rights of *churchmen*, if you would controvert their claims, supplant them in their preferments, and make encroachments on their power, then must you expect a general cry, the whole spiritual body will be up in arms, the thunders of the church will be levelled against you, and the populace must be taught that religion is struck at, and the church in danger. Safer indeed will our nation always find it to attack a *Saviour* than a *surplice*, to rase out the *four evangelists*, than to shew an inclination for plucking *one spiritual ear of English corn*.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, which we may expect to meet with from the English clergy, I would not have the design relinquished. Let difficulties do their proper work---add a spur to our resolution and diligence, and confirm our prudence; for by that, and that only, can we hope to succeed. Moderation is our present business, the best answer to the objections of our enemies, and the only way of getting them into our power, and of making them feel the weight of our resentment, when it is our interest to shew it. In order to pave our way to this desirable event, and to lessen the clamour, when it shall happen, I would recommend it to my countrymen, who have *Presbyterian* interest at heart, to enter immediately into the church of *England*, and take orders---*They will be sure of all the best preferments*; and when the change we so much desire is effected, they may be good and true *Presbyterians* again. Their being in the church will lessen the weight of the *English clergy*, and their return to us will give a fresh addition of strength to our party. As to the charge of *dissimulation* or *hypocrisy*, which may maliciously be brought against them, they will stand excused by the cause

cause for which they acted. If this was not the case, and if the good of the country and countrymen was not a sufficient excuse for *flattery, lying, perjury, perfidy, treason, and rebellion*, what must become of every *true Scot*?

As to the repeal of the *act of toleration* proposed by my correspondent, it must certainly take place, but not at the time he mentions. Should we defer it till after the completion of this great event, we shall lay ourselves open to the reproaches of our adversaries, and be asked, how we can deny that indulgence to others, which we have so strongly pleaded for, and happily enjoyed ourselves? A question this not to be answered, and therefore we must take care that it shall not be asked. Let the *act of toleration* then for this reason be repealed some little time before the abolishment of *episcopacy*, and we may with a *good grace* afterwards lay before the good people of *England the terrors of the Lord*.

The whole of what I have here said, may perhaps be deemed chimerical---Think so still---May security be your ruin---The event will shew who was right. Something relative to this point our *arch enemy* SWIFT has observed, and I hope in the spirit of prophecy; it was feared in his time, and may be accomplished in ours.---Take his own words:

“ We observe the *Scots* in our northern parts to be a
 “ brave, industrious people, extremely devoted to their
 “ religion, and full of an *undisturbed* affection towards
 “ each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited
 “ by the fertilities of soil, are glad to exchange their
 “ barren hills of *Loquabar*, by a voyage of three hours,
 “ for our fruitful vales of *Doun* and *Antrim*, so pro-
 “ ductive of *that grain*, which at little trouble and less
 “ expence finds diet and lodging for themselves and
 “ their cattle. These people by their extreme parsi-
 “ mony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adhe-
 “ rence to one another, soon grow into wealth from the
 “ *smallest beginnings*, never are rooted out where they
 “ once

“ once fix, and increase daily by new supplies. Besides
 “ when they are the superior number in any tract of
 “ ground, they are not *over patient of mixture*; but
 “ such whom they cannot *assimilate*, soon find it their
 “ interest to remove. I have done all in my power on
 “ some land of my own to preserve two or three *English*
 “ fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossi-
 “ ble, though one of them thought he had sufficiently
 “ made his court by turning *Presbyterian*. Add to all
 “ this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland*
 “ a most formidable notion of our church, which they
 “ look upon at least three degrees worse than popery;
 “ and it is natural it should be so, since they come over
 “ full fraught with that spirit which taught them to
 “ abolish *episcopacy* at home.”

After some very impertinent observations relative to
 the repeal of the Test, the Dean says, “ I do not see
 “ how it can be otherwise, considering their ignorance
 “ and our supineness, but that they may in a very few
 “ years grow to a majority in the House of Commons,
 “ and consequently make themselves the national reli-
 “ gion, and have a fair pretence to demand the reve-
 “ nues of the church for their teachers. I know it
 “ will be objected, that if all this should happen as I
 “ describe, yet the Presbyterian religion could never be
 “ made the national by act of Parliament, because our
 “ Bishops are so great a number in the House of Lords,
 “ and without a majority there the church could not be
 “ abolished. But I have *two very good expedients* for
 “ that, which I leave you to guess, and I dare swear
 “ our Speaker here has often thought on, especially
 “ having endeavoured at *one of them* so lately. That
 “ this design is not so foreign from *some people's*
 “ thoughts, I must let you know that an honest *bell-*
 “ *weather* of our house (you have him now in *England*,
 “ I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence
 “ some years ago in Parliament-time, to shake my
 “ Lord Bishop of *Killaloe* by his lawn sleeve, and tell
 “ him

“ him in a threatening manner---*That he hoped to live*
 “ *to see the day when there should not be one of his order in*
 “ *the kingdom.*” Letter concerning the Sacramental
 Test.

NUMB. XI. SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1762.

Neque solum quid istum audire, veram etiam quid me deceat
 dicere, considerabo.

Nor shall I consider only what it may be proper for Him to hear,
 but also what it may become Me to say.

I HAVE found it by far the most disagreeable circum-
 stance attending this political warfare, that I am
 obliged weekly to wade through all the dirt and filth of
 some cotemporary writers, whose natural propensity
 seems now only to have gained its true bias. Every
 thing appears to flow in its proper foul channel with
 them. *Faction* and *falsehood* are the two main pillars of
 their political state. One of them even glories in his
invention. I hoped to have been excused from reading
 any of my fellow-labourers, except the BRITON, who
 has proved to me a fine drowsy opiate after my Satur-
 day's vespers. For my sins I undertook the penance of
his company, and I fear have too often been benumbed
 by the touch of this torpedo; but the AUDITOR has of
 late taken so much obliging notice of me, that I must
 from literary politeness, make him too some returns.
 I will however (according to the sage advice of Tully
 in my motto) *consider not only what is fit for him to hear,*
but for me to say.

I am rather hardly dealt with by him. He accuses
 me of *poverty of invention*. Surely this is unreasonable,
 to expect that *invention* in my *prose*, which is not to be
 found

found in his *verse*. He says, “ he threw out a hint
 “ that I might copy the plan of *news for one hundred*
 “ *years hence*, which the reader may remember was
 “ published some years since against the Jew Bill.”
 The reader may likewise remember that there was published, at the beginning of this century, Swift’s *predictions for the year 1708*, of which the other (notwithstanding his impudent pretensions to originality) is but a tame imitation. The truth is; *Swift* is the *father* of all political *humour*; the AUDITOR and I follow *non æquis passibus*. I thank him however for giving me the true key to the knowledge of the author of that paper, by his doating on the child, and his still remembering, what every body else had forget, an old paper of *news for one hundred years hence*; a paper, I own, of a little easy humour; but he is proud of it, because it is in the highest manner of such a *Flemish* painter, finished *con amore*. I am sorry that sprightly running is over, and that he is now drawn down to the foulest dregs of political controversy. In the same page he talks of *plagiarism*, and borrows almost every line from *Pope* and *Swift*. I am not hurt by this. I wish most heartily that he would steal more largely from both. It will be more of them, it will be less of him: more of them, and less of himself will be as agreeable to the Public, as to me. I beg he would tell me, whence I stole the idea of a *second-sighted Scotsman*, that I may justify myself against my own countrymen, who abuse me for having, as they say, hit the true point of ridicule against our nation, because there is no other which makes so silly a pretension.

But is indeed *invention* the great talent of a political writer? I have always thought otherwise, and, knowing where my strength lay, have ever stated *facts* and *dates* in all historical occurrences, and have constantly left the glory of *invention* to the AUDITOR and the BRITON. Such great things were atchieved during the late administration, that *invention* would lag behind; and were the AUDITOR a poet of the noblest imagination, instead
 of

of only *measuring out a mongrel kind of tinkling prose*, without fire or fancy, he would not have dared to have *feigned* half the heroic acts of the English, for the last six years, under Mr. PITT's auspices. But let him keep his *invention* for his next panegyric on Lord BUTE. There will be the fullest hope, there will be the most real necessity for it. But I fear even in that his genius will fail him; for he has not been able to *invent* one decent excuse for the shameful neglect of the important object of *Newfoundland*. He says, *perhaps no blame ought with propriety to be charged on any man: he has precisely the same ideas of the loss of Minorca; but the nation has not, and does not charge the highest blame on his patrons.* He adds, *were Lord ANSON alive to answer for himself, some reasons would perhaps be assigned, &c.* and so because *Lord Anson* is not *alive* to answer for himself, he is to be called from the *dead* to answer for himself, and LORD BUTE too. But who has accused *Lord Anson*, or *libelled his memory*? I honour the AUDITOR for this happy *invention* (which I believe is his own) of appealing to the *dead*: there he is safe from detection, and may make the appeal as strong, and as circumstantial, as he pleases. But has he no *living witness*? Does not this give the strongest suspicion that were *Lord Anson alive*, he would not then venture to make the appeal?

He says, *during the whole war, Newfoundland never had any particular appointment for its protection, except the two men of war to convoy the trade.* I affirm, that every care possible was taken of *Newfoundland*, and the utmost attention given to its preservation through the whole war, and that it was never lost sight of during all the late negotiations; of which there is the fullest written evidence. The French knew this so well, that no attempt was ever made during the vigilance of the late administration. Their fleets were too narrowly watched; their destination too well known. A superior force was ever ready for the safety of this country, and all her colonies.

lonies. Had the first minister given half the attention to this truly British concern, which he did to increase domestic feuds and contentions among the English; had he set himself (as he ought to have done) to acquire intelligence of what our restless enemies, the French, were meditating, with half the industry he did (as he ought not to have done) to what was transacting at the Treasury before he had any right to command there, he might, beyond all doubt, have frustrated the attempt on *Newfoundland*. I believe too that knowledge might have been acquired to the full *in as fair and honourable a way as the other was*. He might surely have prevented the French seizing with the wretched remains of their marine (almost annihilated in the course of the last six years) what they could not succeed in under the late ministry, while their navy was so formidable. But we find that *weak and feeble* efforts command success against a *weak and feeble* ministry: and our ancient enemy, when *expiring*, can do more, matched with a pitiful opponent, than when *in full vigour*, with one wise and spirited.

The AUDITOR goes on; *how unlucky is it-----that Thurot landed in Ireland during Mr. PITT's ministry, and that he is not actually at Carrickfergus this day!* It is true, *Thurot* did land in Ireland during Mr. PITT's ministry; but it is no less true, that Mr. PITT gave us the most compendious and complete Gazette I ever read, of the consequences of that attempt, the destruction of every single vessel belonging to that squadron. The squadron which attempted and seized *Newfoundland* during Lord BUTE's ministry, is still in being, triumphant, and perhaps ready to attack *Carrickfergus*. Let us have just such a *Gazette* from Lord BUTE. But we are told the ships *are to sale* to attack the French, and to recover *Newfoundland*. The mischiefs which may ensue long before ships from Portsmouth can reach the new world, are scarcely to be imagined, and too shocking to dwell upon even in idea. What a dreadful interval!

how

how big with horror and death! Before, all was security and ease; now, an universal dejection and dread of futurity prevails.

The AUDITOR proceeds very pertly; *Now tell me, Faction, were there any ships stationed at Newfoundland at that time?* The answer is full, clear, and ready; there were ships stationed there, and in all parts, to watch the whole French fleet; and no sooner did any escape from their harbours, but the most immediate intelligence was given, and all their hopes blasted. *M. de la Clue* in an important business, *Thurot* in a less, are the demonstrative proofs. The consequence was, the effectual ruin of the enterprize, perhaps a total destruction, as in the affair of *Thurot*; the mention of which is no instance of the AUDITOR's sagacity.

The AUDITOR says, that I have cited *a malignant paragraph from the Gazetteer, and a writer from his king and country is declared to be the author of it.* Now if this hireling can prevail upon the noble Lord his patron to advance the money and give security that it shall not be recovered under any of the gaming statutes, I will venture a wager that he forged that very paragraph himself. In answer to this, I will do the NORTH BRITON the justice to say, that he is untainted with the vice of gaming, the loss of which possesses the AUDITOR so strongly, that by another happy invention of his own, he endeavours to introduce it even among poor authors. This infectious vice, I suspect, remains to him from his old patron. The NORTH BRITON can declare he never received an obligation from any great man, but what flowed, in the common occurrences of life, from the mutual tie of a reciprocal private friendship. He is happy with what he has a right to enjoy. He is superior to all gain, and despises the sharing with a hackneyed hireling, the weekly wages of the prostitution of his pen. The AUDITOR earns them dearly: ill-got as they are, he shall every Saturday night receive them intire from me; and if they are brought to waste, it will be

be by their being spent in as profligate a manner as they are earned. To annihilate suspicion, I appeal to Mr. *Say*, the printer of the *Gazetteer*. I could wish he would tell the world (and I call upon him to do it) from whom he received that absurd paragraph, which the writer declared in the letter he was *authorised* to send him.

As to the AUDITOR's miserable conceit of *person* and *parson*, I must tell him that it is too poor, and only fit for the BRITON. I will whisper him too, that he is totally mistaken, and that the gentleman he means to abuse does not merit that abuse, though he despises it. The AUDITOR (for he has some taste) is, I am sure, conscious, how much the literary world is indebted to that *manly genius** for some of the most noble productions of our age and language, which will live and be admired by posterity, after all our short-lived political offspring have perished; and this perhaps may be with the same sun which saw them rise.

I have only *two* words to settle with the BRITON this week. They are *glorification* and *vouchsafement*. He says that *I have twice twitted him in the teeth* (a most elegant phrase) *with the word GLORIFICATION printed in Italics*. He affirms that it is an *English* word, to be found in all the common *dictionaries*, and *to be met with more than once in Scripture*. I never denied that it was an *English* word, but I ridiculed it as a *cant* word of the illiberal and illiterate *Scottish presbyterians*; and it found favour among their long-winded divines, only because it was so long, and mouthed so well. I will say however that I have not met with it in Scripture, and I am satisfied that he cannot name one text where it is to be found.

Now for *vouchsafement*. He says, *I could wish he would settle the authenticity of the word VOUCHSAFEMENTS, used as a substantive, a word which I do*

* Mr. Charles Churchill.

do not remember to have seen in any Dictionary or writer of reputation. What so ignorant a fellow has seen, I do not know; but I know he may see the word *vouchsafement*, as a substantive too, in *Johnson's English Dictionary*, and the great *Boyle* quoted as the authority for it. I hope *Johnson* is a writer of reputation, because as a writer he has just got a pension of 300 l. per ann. I hope too that he is become a friend to this constitution and the family on the throne, now he is thus nobly provided for: but I know he has much to *unwrite*, more to *unsay*, before he will be forgiven by the true friends of the present illustrious family, for what he has been *writing* and *saying* for many years. As to the *Briton*, he is so ignorant and foolish, I shall for the future *vouchsafe* him a very small share of my attention; for as every body has left off *reading*, it is high time that I should leave off *answering* him.

NUMB. XII. SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1762.

Pensions, which reason to the worthy gave,
Add fresh dishonour to the fool and knave.

ANON.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I Do not know in any controversy so sure a method of coming at truth, which is always the pretence though so seldom the real object of modern enquiries as a just and strict definition of all the words and phrases of any importance, which are afterwards to be in use. This practice is universal, excepting only in *theological* and *political* controversy. If I take up a book of mathematics, the writer defines in the very first page, what a *triangle*, a *circle*, or a *trapezium* is; and then argues closely

closely from the precise and accurate ideas of each, which the author and reader have previously settled. A book of fortification as regularly sets out with explaining to me what a *bastion*, a *demi-lune*, or a *horn-work* is. I have read much religious controversy; for unhappily there is as little agreement between the ministers of the gospel, as between the ministers of state. I do not however remember to have found in any of our divines a satisfactory definition of *faith*, *free will*, or *predestination*. We are not yet arrived at the same accuracy, with respect to the meaning of these words, as of a *circle* or a *square*. The same remark will hold true in *political* controversy. Who has with any precision defined the words *faction* or *patriot*? The word *favourite* alone we have of late pretty fully understood the force of, both from the definitions of the MONITOR and of the NORTH BRITON: yet give me leave to say, Sir, that neither of you have reached the force and closeness of expression in the great lexicographer, Mr. JOHNSON, who defines a *favourite* to be *a mean wretch, whose whole business is by any means to please*. But whether the word has been well defined or not, in former periods of the English history, the effect of it has been very fully felt, and even at this hour it is never uttered without the most unjust passion and ill-founded resentment, as if the nation was now smarting from the sad consequences of its reality, and exertion in pride and insolence.

The word *pension* likewise has of late much puzzled our politicians. I do not recollect that any one of them has ventured at a definition of it. Mr. Johnson as he is now a *pensioner*, one should naturally have recourse to, for the truest literary information on this subject. His definition then of a *pension* is, *an allowance made to any one without an equivalent*. In England it is generally understood to mean *pay given to a state kireling for treason to his country*. And under the word *pensioner* we read, 1. *One who is supported by an allowance paid at the will of another; a dependant*. 2. *A slave of state, hired by a stipend to*
obey

obey his master. But with submission to this great prodigy of learning, I should think both definitions very erroneous. Is the said Mr. *Johnson* a dependant? Or is he a slave of state, hired by a stipend to obey his master? There is according to him no alternative. Is his *pension* understood to be pay given him as a state hireling for treason to his country? Whoever gave it him, must then have read *London*, a Poem, &c. &c. and must have mistaken all his *distant hints* and *dark allusions*. As Mr. *Johnson* therefore has, I think, failed in this account, may I, after so great an authority, venture at a short definition of so intricate a word? A *pension* then I would call a *gratuity during the pleasure of the Prince for services performed; or expected to be performed, to himself or to the state.* Let us consider the celebrated Mr. *Johnson*, and a few other late pensioners, in this light.

Mr. *Johnson's* many writings in the cause of liberty, his steady attachment to the present Royal Family, his gentleman-like compliments to his majesty's grand-father, and his decent treatment of the parliament, intitle him to a share of the royal bounty. It is a matter of astonishment that *no notice* has till now been taken of him by government for some of the most *extraordinary* productions, which appeared with the name of *Samuel Johnson*; a name sacred to *George and Liberty*. No man, who has read only one poem of his, *London*, but must congratulate the good sense and discerning spirit of the minister, who bestows such a part of the public treasure on this distinguished friend of the public, of his master's family, and of the constitution of this country. These rewards are *now* most judiciously given to those who have supported, not to those who have all their lives written with bitterness, and harangued with virulence, against the government. With all due deference to the first minister's discernment, I rather think that Mr. *Johnson* (as merit of *this kind* must now be rewarded) might have been better provided for in another way: I mean at the board of *Excise*. I am desirous of seeing him one

of the *commissioners*, if not at the head of that board, that the gentlemen there may cease to be *wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid*. His definition of *excise* is, that it is a *hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property; but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid*. Is the *excise* still on the same footing? I wish to know who *hires* these *wretches*, the *commissioners of excise*. Mr. Johnson says, *those to whom excise is paid!* If that is indeed the case, I am not at a loss to find out *to whom excise is paid*, nor who of consequence, in Mr. Johnson's idea, *hires these wretches*.

These are fair extracts from the celebrated *English Dictionary*, which was presented by a noble lord in such pomp to the academy *della Crusca*. It will give the country of the old Romans the justest idea of English liberty, and of the present patrons of it amongst us, who have so illiberally rewarded the author. The *literati of Italy* will not only find the work an excellent *literary dictionary*, but a complete system of English politics and history, worthy of this renowned nation, for every thing is recorded in the manly style of old *Rome*. As we have had our tyrants as well as they, a Roman spirit has arose against them here, and, as it ever will, has bore down all before it. The expulsion of the *Tarquins* is not told by any old Roman historian in more animated language, and more glowing words, than the expulsion of the inveterate enemies of liberty, the whole race of the *Stuarts*. Mr. Johnson says, the *Revolution* is the *change produced by the admission of King William and Queen Mary*. What noble words! what a bold, glowing expression! I should not have dwelt so long upon Mr. Johnson's literary merit, if I did not believe that his writings had done more real service to the family on the throne, than any man's----excepting only Mr. *Secretary Murray's*; another name sacred to *George and Liberty*.

I most heartily beg Lord LITCHFIELD's pardon. I have been so used to find him at the head of the country party, and the Oxfordshire Old Interest, that I did not expect under a prince of the house of *Brunswic*, to have seen him at *the head of the pensioners*. I ought to have paid my first compliments to his lordship. He is at the head of the *pensioners*, and at length basks in the sunshine of court favour, from having in the most critical times distinguished himself as a warm friend of the house of *Hanover*. When the whole nation arose up, like one man, in defence of their sovereign and their liberties, lord LITCHFIELD stood forth among the most zealous, and put himself at the head of *amazing* numbers of true freemen of the old interest in Oxfordshire. I hope that ever memorable year 1746 will never be forgot. In that perilous year the family on the throne saw who were their real friends, and undoubtedly have profited by an experience so happily made. Read over the list of those generous *associators*, who formed a *sacred band* for the defence of all that ought to be dear to an Englishman: there you will find the name of the earl of LITCHFIELD. Every man in Oxfordshire will tell you, how nobly he exerted himself, when Hannibal was at our gates; what real strength the nation derived from his great and spirited efforts; what *sums he subscribed*; what immense expences he bore with cheerfulness, to encourage *his* friends to the straining of every nerve against *his* and our common enemy. I do not indeed recollect that he raised any regiment, though many others of the nobility did; but I readily comprehend why he did not. The administration were at that time so over-run with gross prejudices, that they thought his lordship, and those friends of his, could not be trusted. The present ministry think more justly; and should such another day come, I am satisfied they will be found as zealous in the cause of their country as before. It is plain then, that lord LITCHFIELD is at the

head of the Pensioners on account of real services performed in times of real danger.

I think that I am right in declaring that a *pension* may not only be given for *services actually performed*, but likewise for *services expected to be performed*. This I take to be the case of the *pensions* generally given to the *sixteen Peers*, who represent the whole nobility of *Scotland*. I am far from meaning that they are the only *sixteen Scottish* peers who enjoy *pensions*. I speak of them now, as having votes in the house of Lords, from their being representatives of all the rest. *Pensions* have commonly been given to them for the services they *are* to perform to their country there, and to give them the true bias, which they might otherwise mistake. When Lord BUTE was in a former parliament one of the *sixteen Scottish* peers, he actually enjoyed a *pension* on this truly honourable footing, and therefore *he* has the fairest right to the title of *Grand Pensionary*.

In this more liberal construction of the word *pension*, I should imagine the *Lords of the Bed-chamber* in general were included. I take this to be the true reason of the encrease of their number in the present reign from *twelve* to *eighteen*; which is still kept filled up. This is by no means want of *economy*, that darling attribute of modern statesmen! It is done that so many noble persons may be ready to perform in parliament any services which their *country* calls for, and is thus in reality only a *more honourable pension*.

I beg to be understood. Not only real services in parliament, but every species of elegance and refinement in the polite arts may, I think, without censure, be rewarded with a *pension*. A politeness equal to that of lord TALBOT'S---*horse* ought not to pass unnoticed. At the coronation he paid a new, and, for a *horse*, singular respect to his sovereign. I appeal to applauding multitudes, who were so charmed, as to forget every rule of decency, and to *clap* even in the *Royal* presence, whether *his*, or his *lord's* dexterity on that day did not surpass

surpass any courtier's. Caligula's *horse* had not half the merit. We remember how nobly *he* was provided for. What the exact proportion of merit was between his *lordship* and his *horse*, and how far the pension should be divided between them, I will not take upon me to determine. I leave this knotty point to be decided by the earl of *Eglington*, because Mr. *John Hume*, alias *Hume* (for so it is printed in the new sweet nosegay of *Scottish thistles*) tells the world, vol. ii. p. 230, that he is,

*A friend of princes, poets, wits,
A judge infallible of TITS.*

In my private opinion, however, the merit of *both* was very great, and neither ought to pass unnoticed. The impartial, and inimitable pen of *Cervantes* has made *Rozinante* immortal as well as *Don Quixote*. Lord TALBOT'S horse, like the great planet in *Milton*, *danc'd about in various rounds his wand'ring course*. At different times, he was *progressive, retrograde, or standing still*. The *progressive* motion I should rather incline to think the merit of the *horse*, the *retrograde* motion, the merit of the *Lord*. Some of the regulations of the courtiers themselves for that day had long been settled by former lord stewards. It was reserved for lord *Talbot* to settle an *etiquette* for their *horses*.

I much admire many of his Lordship's new regulations, especially those for the royal kitchen. I approve the discharging of so many *turnspits* and *cooks*, who were grown of very little use. I do not however quite like the precedent of giving them *pensions* for doing nothing. It was high time to put an end to that too great indulgence in eating and drinking, which went by the name of *Old English hospitality*, when the house of commons had granted a poor, niggardly *civil list* of only 800,000*l*. I sincerely venerate his lordship's great abilities, and deeply regret that they are not employed by government

in a way more *confidential*, more suited to his manly character.

There is one *Scottish pension* I have been told of, which afforded me real pleasure. It is Mr. *Hume's*; for I am satisfied that it must be given to Mr. *David Hume*, whose writings have been justly admired both abroad and at home, and not to Mr. *John Hume*, who has endeavoured to bring the name into contempt, by putting it to two insipid tragedies, and other trash in the *Scottish miscellanies*.

I must in compliance with a few vulgar writers, call the *inadequate* reward given to Mr. *Pitt*, for as great services as ever were performed by any subject, a *pension*, although the *grant is not during pleasure*, and therefore cannot create any undue, unconstitutional influence. In the same light we are to consider the duke of *Cumberland's* and *Marlborough's*, Prince *Ferdinand's* and Admiral *Hawke's*, Mr. *Onslow's*, &c. I was going to call it the *King's gold box*; for Mr. *Pitt* having before received the most obliging marks of regard from the public, the testimony of his sovereign only remained wanting. The circumstances however attending it convince me, that *at that moment* it was artfully contrived by courtiers to be given to Mr. *Pitt*, neither for *Louisburg*, *Quebec*, nor *Pondicherry*, but to ruin him in the opinion of mankind, and with the hope of putting an end to that popularity, which he has through life courted with such painful zeal, prostituted to such flagitious purposes, and made use of above all to raise the flame of discord, which raged for the last six years, but is now, under the auspices of lord *BUTE*, happily extinguished.

I am, &c.

NUMB. XIII. SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1762.

Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.

The Cappadocian King is rich in slaves,
But cash is wanting.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I ENCLOSE a very great curiosity, which I desire you to reprint *verbatim*. It will shew the present age how unjust the last was in their sentiments of the people and country of *Scotland*, and that the prejudices against the inhabitants of the northern part of this island were not conceived by the *English* yesterday. I beg to give you a motto from Horace, which I think conveys no bad idea of a *Higbland Chief*.

I am, &c.

A

P E R F E C T D E S C R I P T I O N

O F T H E

PEOPLE and COUNTRY of SCOTLAND.

By JAMES HOWELL, Gent.

LONDON: Printed for J. S. 1649.

FIRST, for the country, I must confess, it is good for those that possess it, and too bad for others to be at the charge to conquer it. The air might be wholesome, but for the stinking people that inhabit it; the ground might be fruitful, had they wit to manure it.

Their

Their beasts be generally small, women only excepted; of which sort there are none greater in the whole world. There is great store of fowl too, as fowl houses, fowl sheets, fowl linen, fowl dishes and pots, fowl trenchers, and napkins, with which sort we have been forced to say, as the children did with their fowl in the wilderness. They have good store of fish too, and good for those that can eat it raw; but if it come once into their hands, it is worse than if it were three days old; for their butter and cheese I will not meddle withal at this time, nor no man else at any time, that loves his life.

They have great store of deer, but they are so far from the place where I have been, that I had rather believe than go to disprove it: I confess all the deer I met withal was dear lodgings, dear horse-meat, and dear tobacco, and *English* beer.

As for fruit, for their grandfire *Adam's* sake, they never planted any; and for other trees, had *Christ* been betrayed in this country (as doubtless he should, had he come as a stranger) *Judas* had sooner found the grace of repentance than a tree to hang himself on.

They have many hills, wherein they say is much treasure, but they shew none of it: nature hath only discovered to them some mines of coals, to shew to what end he created them.

I see little grass but in their pottage: the thistle is not given them of nought, for it is the fairest flower in their garden. The word hay is heathen Greek unto them; neither man nor beast knows what it means.

Corn is reasonable plenty at this time; for since they heard of the king's coming, it hath been as unlawful for the common people to eat wheat, as it was in the old time for any but the priests to eat shew-bread. They prayed much for his coming, and long fasted for his welfare; but in the more plain sense, that he might fare the better, all his followers were welcome, but his guard; for those, they say, are like *Pharaoh's* lene
Kine,

Kine, and threaten dearth wheresoever they come: they could persuade the footmen that oaten cakes would make them long-winded; and the children of the chapel they have brought to eat them for the maintainance of their voices.

They say our cooks are too saucy; and for grooms and coachmen, they wish them to give to their horses no worse than they eat themselves; they commend the brave mindes of the pensioners, and the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, which choose rather to go to taverns than to be always eating of the king's provision; they likewise do commend the yeomen of the buttery and cellar, for their readines and silence, in that they will hear twenty knocks before they will answer one. They persuade the trumpeters, that fasting is good for men of that quality; for emptines, they say, causes wind, and wind causes a trumpet to sound well.

The bringing of heraulds, they say, was a needless charge; they all know their pedegrees well enough; and the harbingers might have been spared, sithence they brought so many beds with them; and of two evils, since the least should be chosen, they wish the beds might remain with them, and poor harbengers keep their places, and do their office, as they return: his hangings, they desire might likewise be left as reliques, to put them in minde of his majesty; and they promise to dispense with the wooden images; but for those graven images in his new beautiful chapel, they threaten to pull down soon after his departure, and to make of them a burnt-offering to appease the indignation they imagined conceived against them in the breast of the Almighty, for suffering such idolatry to enter into their kingdom: the organ, I think, will finde mercy, becaute, as they say, there is some affinity between them and the bagpipes.

The shipper that brought the singing-men with their papistical vestments, complains that he hath been
much

much troubled with a strange singing in his head ever since they came aboard his ship; for remedy whereof the parson of the parish hath persuaded him to sell that prophane vessel, and to distribute the money among the faithful brethren.

For his majesty's entertainment, I must needs ingenuously confess, he was received into the parish of *Edenberg* (for a city I cannot call it) with great shouts of joy, but no shews of charge for pageants: they hold them idolatrous things, and not fit to be used in so reformed a place. From the castle they gave him some pieces of ordnance, which surely he gave them since he was king of *England*; and at the entrance of the town they presented him with a golden bason, which was carried before him on men's shoulders to his palace, I think, from whence it came: his majesty was conveyed by the younkers of the town, which were some hundred halberds (dearly shall they rue it in regard to the charge) to the *Cross*, and so to the high church, where the onely bell they had stood on tip-toe to behold his sweet face; where I must intreat you to spare him, for an hour I lost him.

In the mean time to report the speeches of the people; concerning his never exempl'd entertainment, were to make this discourse too tedious unto you, as the sermon was to those that were constrained to endure it. After the preachment he was conducted by the same halberds unto his palace, of which I forbear to speak, because it was a place sanctified by his divine majesty, onely I wish it had been better walled, for my friends sake that waited on him.

Now I will begin briefly to speak of the people, according to their degrees and qualities; for the lords spiritual, they may well be termed so indeed, for they are neither fish nor flesh, but what it shall please their earthly god, the king, to make them. Obedience is better than sacrifice; and therefore they make a mock

at martyrdom, saying, that Christ was to die for them, and not they for him. They will rather subscribe than surrender, and rather dispence with small things than trouble themselves with great disputation: that will rather acknowledge the king to be their head, than want wherewith to pamper their bodies.

They have taken great pains and trouble to compass their bishopricks, and they will not leave them for a trifle; for the deacons, whose defects will not lift them up to dignities, all their study is to disgrace them that have got the least degree above them; and because they cannot bishop they proclaim they never heard of any. The scriptures, say they, speak of deacons and elders, but not a word of bishops, Their discourses are full of detraction, their sermons nothing but railing, and their conclusions nothing but heresies and treasons. For their religion they have, I confess they have it above reach, and, God willing; I will never reach for it.

They christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacrament without reverence, die without repentance, and bury without divine service: they keep no holidays, nor acknowledge any Saint but Saint *Andrew*, who they say got that honour by presenting Christ with an oaten cake after his forty days fast. They say likewise he that translated the bible was the son of a malster, because it speaks of a miracle done by barley loves; whereas they swear they were oaten cakes, and that no other bread of that quantity could have sufficed so many thousands.

They use no prayer at all, for they say it is needless; God knows their mindes without prattling, and what he doth he loves to do it freely. Their sabbaths exercise is a preaching in the forenoon, and a persecuting in the afternoon; they go to church in the forenoon to hear the law, to the crags and mountains in the afternoon to l--- themselves.

They hold their noses if you talk of bear-baiting, and stop their ears if you speak of a play: fornication they hold

hold but a pastime, wherein man's ability is approved and a woman's fertility discovered; at adultery they shake their heads, theft they rail at, murder they wink at, and blasphemy they laugh at: they think it impossible to lose the way to heaven, if they can but leave *Rome* behinde them.

To be opposite to the pope is to be presently with God. To conclude; I am persuaded, that if God and his angels at the last day should come down in their whitest garments, they would run away, and cry, The children of the chapel are come again to torment us, let us flee from the abomination of these boys, and hide ourselves in the mountains.

For the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, temporizing gentlemen, if I were apt to speak of any I could not speak much of them, onely I must let you know they are not Scottishmen; for assoon as they fall from the breast of the beast their mother, their careful sire posts them away for *France*, where, as they pass, the sea sucks from them that which they have suckt from their rude dams; there they gather new flesh, new blood, new manners; and there they learn to put on their cloaths, and then return into their countries to wear them out; there they learn to stand, to speak, and to discourse and to congee, to court women, and to complement with men.

They spared no cost to honour the king, nor for no complemental courtesie to welcome their countrymen; their followers are their fellows, their wives their slaves, their horses their masters, and their swords their judges; by reason whereof they have but few laborers, and those not very rich: their parliaments hold but three days, their statutes three lines, and their suits are determined in a manner in three words, or very few more, &c.

The wonders of their kingdom are these; the lord chancellor, he is believed; the master of the rolls, well spoken of; and the whole counsel, who are the judges,
for

for all causes, are free from suspicion of corruption. The country, although it be mountainous, affords no monsters but women, of which the greatest sort, as countesses, and ladies, are kept like lions in iron grates. The merchants wives are also prisoners, but not in so strong a hold: they have wooden cages, like our boar franks, through which, sometimes peeping to catch the air, we are almost choaked with the sight of them; the greatest madness among the men is jealousy, in that they fear what no man that hath but two of his senses will take from them.

The ladies are of opinion that *Susanna* could not be chaste, because she bathed so often. Pride is a thing bred in their bones, and their flesh naturally abhors cleanliness; their breath commonly stinks of pottage, their linnen of p---fs, their hands of pigs t--ds, their body of sweat, and their splay-feet never offend in socks. To be chained in marriage with one of them were to be tied to a dead carcass, and cast into a stinking ditch; formosity and a dainty face they dream not of.

The ointments they most frequently use among them are brimstone and butter for the scab, and oil of bays and stavesacre. I protest I had rather be the meanest servant of the two to my pupils chambermaid, than to be the master minion to the fairest countess I have yet discovered. The sin of curiosity of ointments is but newly crept into the kingdom, and I do think will not long continue.

To draw you down by degrees from the citizens wives to the country gentlewomen, and convey you to common dames in *Sea-coal-lane*, that converse with rags and marrow-bones, are things of mineral race. Every w--- in *Houndsditch* is an *Helena*; and the greasy b--- in *Turnball-Street* are *Greekish* dames in comparison of these. And therefore to conclude: the men of old did no more wonder that the great *Messias* should be born

in so poor a town as *Bethlem* in *Judea*, than I do wonder that so brave a prince as king *James* should be born in so stinking a town as *Edenburgh*, in l---fy *Scotland*.

NUMB. XIV. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4,
1762.

Nihil tam *Populare*, quàm *Pacem*, quàm *concordiam*, quàm *otium*, reperiemus.

We shall find nothing so popular as peace, rest, and quiet.
CICERO.

AMONG the various *popular* artifices, which have been in vain employed by a most *unpopular* set of men, to amuse and dupe the multitude, not one has been so frequent for many months as the industrious propagation of the report of the happy dawning of *Peace*, which is the great object of every honest man's wishes. It will indeed at this time be doubly welcome; for it will relieve us from the just terrors which the continuance of a war, now so ill conducted, and the enemies possession of *Newfoundland*, have given every good subject. I will not dwell upon the probability of future ignominious losses which must follow, while our affairs are in such weak hands; nor will I mention all my apprehensions for the infant colony of *Halifax*, because I hope that a *peace* will put a period to all our fears.

At one time emissaries of the minister have told us that a *peace was as good as concluded*, then, *only little formalities remained to be adjusted*; now, in the fulness of time, it is become the first article of their political creed, that it is *actually signed*, and in *Lord Bute's* pocket.

pocket. These reports have been circulated with the utmost care and industry from various motives. Those of a *private* nature, which were calculated for *private* ends to raise or fall our political barometer, the stocks, I shall not dwell upon. I will mention one of a public concern, and of no small importance. The world has seen the total incapacity of the *new minister* to carry on a war, and the neglect of *Newfoundland* has filled every thoughtful mind with the most uneasy forebodings of futurity. The voice of the people has said that the existence of *his* power depended on the making *peace* with France; and almost every express he has read from abroad has demonstrated the necessity of it, and has given lord BURE the mortification of finding how ill the war went on, and how little confidence our allies have in the present minister. He has likewise experienced the additional chagrin of finding how ardently they wish for his predecessor. I believe that, next to the consciousness of having merited the reproaches he meets with, it must be the most real anguish to his mind, (though it is neither noble, nor has great refinements) to know the generous, and free applause given to his great adversary. How often of late has envy and malice sickened at the glorious testimony foreigners have borne to the superior merit of Mr. PITT, and to his unrivalled ability in the conduct of a war!

A minister of mean and narrow genius, who finds himself embarrassed in the management of an important war, is from necessity drove to ask *peace* for the preservation of his own power, and the concealment of his incapacity from his master. But the mischief lies here, that such a minister must take any *peace* the enemy will give; who knowing that it must be had, will only grant it on the most hard and dishonourable conditions. This was exactly the state of England at the latter end of queen Anne's reign, after the change of the glorious ministry, which had preserved Europe from the univer-

sal monarchy of the house of *Bourbon*. Our arms had then too (*but only in one quarter of the world*) been crowned with astonishing success. The greatest harmony prevailed among all the parts of the grand alliance: but GREAT BRITAIN was the *soul* of the whole. She did not then withhold her treasure, because she knew that it was applied to the support of the common cause, which I take to be the ruin, or at least the humbling of France. The victory of *Hochstedt* in that war, as of *Rosbach* in this broke that formidable power. France was reduced so low, as to feel the necessity of a *peace*, and to make repeated overtures. Lord *Walpole* reminds me of a modern statesman, when he talks of the *Duke of Marlborough's indefatigable activity and desire to fall upon the French in all places, and on all occasions.* p. 55. Yet I never heard that the views even of that amazing genius extended beyond *Europe*. How is every good man's indignation raised, to find that *his most glorious designs were likewise defeated by a contemptible faction* of artful men, who had undermined him at court, and ruined him in the opinion of his *sovereign*, though they could not rob him of the hearts of the people! On the alteration of the ministry, how was the scene changed! A peace became necessary for the private views of the new managers, and was to be had on any terms. They, after the splendor of such victories, *humbléd* themselves before the proudest monarch in *Europe*, and *begged* peace of him. An Englishman can scarcely read without tears the history of our infamy during that whole negociation of a *Tory* ministry. All the glories of that war were tarnished by the shameful peace of *Utrecht*; which the two ministerial scriblers of these times are every week applauding, and, I fear most ominously, giving out as a precedent to this age. The French at last recovered from their pannic; their spirit revived on the change of the ministry, and the abbot *POLIGNAC* said carlesly, *Ce que nous perdrons en Flandres,*

nous

nous gagnerons en Angleterre. There are many things remarkable striking in this period, which, I think, come home to the present times. I shall mention a few, and shall give the most unexceptionable testimony, that of *Lord Walpole of Woolterton*, who was in 1709, at the Hague, secretary to the British embassy for negotiating a peace.

“ The ministry and measures were changed; the
 “ reverse of that honest and useful principle, of pre-
 “ serving *union* and *harmony* among the confederates,
 “ soon took place, and was productive of those fatal
 “ consequences that were obvious and natural. A
 “ shameful and unprovoked separation from our allies
 “ put it into the power of *reduced France* to dictate the
 “ terms of peace to her *victorious* enemies: terms not
 “ only ignominious and unjust to our *friends*, but even
 “ those granted to ourselves, instead of securing any
 “ particular advantages as a recompence for the sacri-
 “ fice we made of our allies and of our honour, if any
 “ thing could be a recompence for so base a behaviour,
 “ were detrimental to the interest, trade, and safety of
 “ this nation.” p. 128.

“ This digression serves to point out the true and
 “ original cause of that scene of iniquity and treachery,
 “ which followed the alteration of the ministry. p. 129.
 “ By a plausible appearance of a disposition for *peace*,
 “ he, the French king, not only quieted the minds of
 “ his people, whose clamours, from their miserable
 “ conditions had been loud, but he wrought them up
 “ to a zeal to support him.” p. 151.

“ They, the French, had got *into a negotiation with*
 “ *our ministry*: they did not doubt but the advantages
 “ they should reap from thence, would more than re-
 “ compence the losses they had suffered by the Duke
 “ of Marlborough’s arms.” p. 199.

“ All these hopeful expectations of *reaping the fruit*
 “ *of so much blood and treasure*, were blasted and con-

“founded on a sudden, by the prevailing intrigues of
 “a faction, composed of some few ambitious and de-
 “signing men. These new projectors, impatient to
 “succeed and support themselves in their places, broke
 “through the barriers of honour, honesty, and good
 “faith; and giving up all concern, not only for the
 “interest of our friends, but of their own country,
 “without any other motive or provocation than that
 “of satisfying their wicked and aspiring views at any
 “rate, and in order to bring in the Pretender, flung
 “themselves into the arms of France.” p. 8.

“That far from steadily insisting upon, as before
 “this *unaccountable charge* it was practicable, and in
 “their power to have done, terms of peace agreeable
 “to treaties, and to the principles upon which those
 “treaties were founded, they were forced to receive
 “the law from her, and accept of such conditions as
 “she should condescend to give to us and our allies;
 “and while we shamefully abandonned them, far from
 “obtaining, as we pretended, particular advantages
 “to this nation, as a satisfaction for our having borne
 “the chief burden of the war; what was peculiarly
 “granted to us was calculated to dazzle the eyes of
 “the unthinking multitude, being of no benefit to us,
 “but productive, as they afterwards proved, of new
 “troubles in Europe.” p. 9.

“France, in this distracted condition of her affairs,
 “both at home and abroad, to appease the clamour of
 “her miserable subjects, to make the allies more slack
 “and remiss in their warlike preparations, and to
 “create, if possible, jealousies and divisions among
 “them, had recourse to all imaginable arts and in-
 “trigues to make the belief of an approaching *peace*
 “generally prevail.” p. 122.

These passages are faithfully extracted from *An an-
 swer to the latter part of Lord Bolinbroke's letters on the
 study of history, by the late Lord Walpole of Woolterton,*
 which

which has been printed by the present Lord Walpole, and given only to his friends: but I hope that so useful a work will not be kept long from the public*.

Much art has been used to prepare the minds of men for this long-expected *peace*, and many curious doctrines have been promulgated to quiet our scruples with regard to some articles said to be contained in it, which strike equally at the interest and honour of the nation. The BRITON tells us, that *no state can be bound by any treaty, which shall turn out manifestly prejudicial to its interest, because it is always supposed that every engagement of this nature is contracted with a view to self-preservation or public advantage.* Is this the *good faith* for which England has ever been celebrated? I will venture to say that there is no doctrine more wicked, more calculated to destroy the most sacred ties, than this now laid down by this advocate of the present ministry. This is beyond *Machiavelian* politics. Nothing in the famous *Morale des Jesuites* comes up to it. He applies this doctrine to the king of Prussia, whom his *sovereign* calls our *ally*, and he stiles a *royal freebooter*; but he ought to have known that the king of Prussia himself has nobly refuted the poor sophisms of the *antimoralists* he admires, and in his writings, as well as by his practice, has proved that *good faith* and a *religious observation of treaties* is equally the clear duty and interest of all princes. No man but the BRITON ever held such infamous doctrine in a civilized nation. It would disgrace the most barbarous savages in America. Lewis the XIVth acting through a long wicked life by this maxim of the BRITON's, that *he was no longer bound by any treaty, than he found it for his own interest to be so*, was of consequence detested as infamous in his own age, and is branded by posterity as the most perjured prince on record. The BRITON says, *it is a maxim adopted by civilians.* It is then only by

* The impatience of the public for this valuable work has since been obligingly gratified.

Scottish civilians, or perhaps by a few unprincipled advocates of our own at *Doctors Commons*, who cooked up the artful affidavits, which some infamous *Monte Christi* traders (for they deserve not the honourable name of *merchants*) persuaded their agents, &c. to make in this war. Has it indeed been the regular practice of the Scottish nation, and is it therefore mistaken for a part of their law? Or is it to be a part of the new *Scots law*, which the AUDITOR mentions? I should like to see this very moral *Codex Buteanus*, illustrated with the German commentaries of *Count Mansfeldt*, that accomplished *civilian*, and justly renowned, not so much indeed for nervous, manly sense, as for spinning the most curious webs of artful sophistry, finer and slighter than the very *Gossamer*. I dare say that by one of his *beautiful reasonings* on the chapter of *wills*, we shall find it deduced, that, if an immense property should be wickedly left by a father in his dotage, from an only *English* son into a *Scotsman's* family, the *Scotsman* may, consistent with honour and conscience, keep the whole, yet endeavour to pervert and entirely change the clear will and intention of his great benefactor, divert the golden stream of *Pætolus* into another channel, for his own selfish purposes, and make use of every art, and all kind of influence, to attain so *righteous* an end.

I have heard of a *quaint* declaration of the minister to his friends, that *he thinks he sees through a peace*. What is to be understood by so strange a phrase I shall scarcely take upon me to determine. Is the *peace* of so slight and flimsy a contexture, that the artifice of it is easily *seen through*? Or does it mean that a peace, so patched up, is *seen through*, because it can have no permanency? I will consider this phrase more at large, when it is, as translators always say, *made or done into English*; for I am not obliged to understand the language of a *foreign minister*, nor will I learn it, when it is barbarous and uncouth,

As the negotiation is soon to be opened in form, I rejoice to hear that the administration is so fortunate in the choice of a noble personage, who has *condescended* to go on the part of England, not to *sign*, but to *treat of a peace*. His Grace's happy temper, his winning manners, and obliging deportment, will soon secure him the hearts of the *French* as entirely as they did the hearts of the *Irish*, who lived so blessed under his government. I hope for this purpose that his old secretary, the *learned* master of the rolls, is to attend the embassy. I am satisfied that the *French* will approve our choice, and that there will be the truest harmony between them. His Grace has been pleased to declare, that he *wept over our victories*, so have the *French*: there may therefore be a full chorus of *sighs and groans* between them: and when their tears are dried up, I suppose they will *laugh* together at our loss of *Newfoundland*. I will venture to prophecy, that on the noble *duke's wished-for* return to his native country, he will be attended to the *Gallic* shore by at least as great crowds of *Frenchmen*, shrugging their shoulders, as he was to the *Irish shore* by the *men, women, and children of that country, all dissolved in tears*.

One particular I beg leave to suggest. In common policy the *nakedness* of our land should rather be concealed by his Grace abroad; for though it is very encouraging to the nation, and highly proper in a house of parliament, and in all companies here, to represent this country as totally exhausted, and unable to proceed at all with the war, yet in France this same language, held by a minister sent to *treat of a peace*, might be no small argument against the glorious terms of it; which the unparalleled successes of the war give the nation the justest right to expect.

NUMB. XV. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11,
1762.

Ostentabant Pisoni nutantes Gallias, paratam Germanium,
pericula ipsius, et *pace suspecta tutius bellum.*

When we are surrounded with danger and confusion, and open war is preferable to a suspected peace.

THERE is scarcely any circumstance in life more provoking than to be broke in upon when a man is deeply engaged in an affair of real moment and of a serious nature, by some stupid fellow, and interrupted with his insipid railery on a trifling subject. Such an impertinent companion have we all found the AUDITOR last week. When the most general alarm prevailed every where, of *preliminaries* being actually signed, so injurious to the honour of the nation, so inadequate to the successes of this glorious war, he mal-a-propos stepped forth, and instead of endeavouring to quiet our fears, and to pour balm into our bleeding wounds, gives us a long tedious paper of *toasting-bealths*. Amidst the universal murmurings and discontents of the people, from the suspicion that so many of our glorious conquests, purchased with so much blood and treasure, were to be given up to our antient enemy, at length so weakened and reduced, this *mauvais plaisant* endeavoured in vain to raise a laugh by his low buffoonry and jests, equally *stale* and *ill-timed*, on *fox-hunters* and *country 'squires*. Is this ribaldry to serve instead of observations on the great business, to which the * *under-secretary of state's* letter to the city of *London* called our
our

* Neither of the secretaries of state condescended on this occasion to write to the city of London.

our particular regard, and on which indeed every eye was before fixed with so much attention?

This ministerial advocate must in vain expect to turn our thoughts from what we all feel to be of the truest national importance. The alarm is universal, and can only be calmed, if indeed it can be calmed, by authentic information of what is concealed so mysteriously from the world. For though Mr. *Wood's* letter only says that the duke of *Bedford* is sent to *treat of a peace*, the public report, as yet uncontradicted, has given the most important articles of it, which have raised the indignation of the people. I hope in due time we shall be favoured by Lord *Egremont's* first as well as some few subsequent letters on this great occasion.

I cannot but remark the wonderful difference between the sentiments of mankind now, during the present negotiation, and what they were while we were treating with France a few months ago. The *war* against the common enemy was then carried on in all parts with amazing vigour and success, during that whole negotiation, so *suspicious* on the part of France; no conquests were made on us, but the French empire was *mouldring* away; a most entire harmony prevailed through the nation; the utmost confidence was placed in the minister; and no man was alarmed at a treaty's going on with France, because the nation, and its allies, thought their interests safe in those hands. We ourself entertained no fears, nor had our allies any suspicions of the want of that *good faith* for which the crown of *England* has in all ages been celebrated. The infamous doctrine of the wretch, who scribbles under the *royal arms*, had not then been broached in this country. The nation was unanimous in opinion, that an *open* and *spirited war* was a state of greater security, than an *insidious, inglorious, and uncertain peace*. *Newfoundland* was not then in the hands of our enemy a plea with Monsieur *Bussy* for any concessions inconsistent with our honour, or our most important interests, our *fishery* and *navy*. The present

sent time of our negotiating, when we have just received so fatal, so stunning a blow, I am afraid forebodes no good. Had we recovered so important an object first, with what higher dignity should we have entered into a negotiation, which now rather betrays our fears, than portends our obtaining those great terms which all Europe demands for us, as the just price of peace to be paid to England by a *vanquished* and late *dispirited* enemy. I fear a negotiation at this crisis will rather seem to be calculated to save what remains of our old empire, than to preserve what the late ministry conquered from the proud rivals of our trade and commerce. The Duke of Bedford will now have the *re-tert courteous* of *Newfoundland, fishery, navy*, in return for what his Grace may say of *Quebec, Pondicherry, &c.*

What pains has the poor AUDITOR taken to divert our attention, and how has he laboured to relieve us from these melancholy objects which he sees prey on our spirits? Not a syllable of *Newfoundland*, or the new *treaty of peace*, but a most tedious dissertation on the *Romans, Germans, Thracians, &c. &c.* and their convivial entertainments! I believe he is no great *Greek*, or it would be strange he could omit all mention of the most *polite* and *elegant* nation the world ever saw, who were so given to indulge in all the sprightly sallies which wine inspires, that *pergræcari* is the very phrase even the Roman authors use; and Plautus very fully explains it, *dies noctesque bibite, PERGRÆCAMINI*. Even the word *symposium*, which the AUDITOR always uses, is the *Greek* term; for Tully remarks, in honour of his countrymen, that the *Roman* word was *convivium*, which better expressed the *accubatio epularis amicorum, quod vitæ conjunctionem haberet*. He is not, however, very accurate even as to the *Romans*, though he gives us such long insipid passages from the dull commentators, who for ever disgrace the bottom of the *white Classic page*. He would persuade us that no *party divisions* were in their drinking clubs, and no *political toasts* drank; but I am satisfied of the contrary

contrary from *Horace*, who in his fine ode to *Augustus* concludes the politics of the times, *Quis Partium paveat? Quis gelidum Scythæ, Quis Germania, &c.* with

-----*dicimus integro*
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
Cum sol oceano subest.

Even old *Cato's* virtue, I am satisfied, was frequently known *mero incaluisse* to good patriot toasts; and had a citizen the merit of conquering the capitals of the *Gauls* in two quarters of the globe would not *that great Roman's heart have been thirsty for the noble pledge of his health?* And would he not have filled till the wine overflowed the cup, as *Shakespeare* says? Were the name of the patriot or hero unluckily so short as to admit but of four *cyathi*, according to their rule, a *Roman wit* would have tacked an *Asiaticus* or *Africanus* to it, and have tried in such a cause, on a *festus dies*, to have burnt out *night's tapers*, and have sat up till morning, to behold the noble *Claude Loraine* of nature, the most glorious sight of the whole creation, *jocund day standing tiptoe on the misty mountain's top.* I am persuaded however, that no *arbiter bibendi* could have made a true *Roman* crown the bowl to a *Consul*, who had lost an important *Romany* colony, or to an oppressive and insolent governor of *Sicily*.

As to myself I declare I have so much of the *Greek* and *Roman* spirit in me, that I should not hesitate a moment to prefer *pledging* PATRIOT toasts with a set of sensible and spirited friends of their country, in *Surry*, *Suffex*, or *Buckinghamshire*, to the drinking *chocolate* with a weak, passionate, and insolent secretary of state, on the very expensive terms that it was given, together with wonderful good advice, last week, by lord *Egremont*, to Mr. *Charles Say*, the printer of the *Gazetteer*. I will only tell his Lordship, that if he means to give *chocolate* to every *Englishman*, who declares his suspicions of what

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the ministry are doing, all the sugar islands together, if we are suffered to retain them, will not hold out a single month in furnishing that commodity.

If the *French* take *Placentia*, or *Halifax*, the *Auditor* has so much studied the antiquities of that *amiable* nation, that I suppose he will divert us with another paper on his favourites, the *Jews*, and will, from such *reading as was never read* by any man of spirit and sense, inform us whether they begun the custom of *toasting* before or after the *Babylonish captivity*, and what toasts, which are now drank in *CHRISTENDOM*, they adopt, or are likely to adopt, *one hundred years hence*, varying only the mode of expression. Or shall we rather, in his *quaint* phrase, have something *muse-like* to divert us? I hope it will be something more *muse-like*, more like some one of the *nine*, than the barren muse of the *Desart Isle*, or the wretched *Orphan of China*. Or will this *profligate player* give us a *pantomime*, or a *past, vamped, future, old revived, new* tragedy, and most ingeniously contrive, like *Tantalus* to murder even his own miserable offspring. Will he be *Counsellor, Author, Manager, Pimp, Poet, or Player*?

But this *Proteus* shall at present give place to a worthy correspondent, who I find has no more inclination than myself to drink *chocolate* with lord *Egremont*, even on the most pressing compliments of Mr. *Carrington*, who is not apt to take a denial, when he finds a gentleman at home.

To the AUTHOR of the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I Lately gave information by a letter to the *Gazetteer*, under the name of *Piscator*, of some circumstances relative to the capture of *St. John's*, which I found on my arrival were not known in England. These were published

published Wednesday, August the 25th, but the next day were contracted, it was said, on good authority, as being without foundation. I wrote two other letters, and yesterday was published the following extraordinary article.---“ Whilst our correspondent, *Piscator*, who
 “ wrote about Newfoundland, chuses to conceal him-
 “ self under that character, it would be highly improper
 “ for us, in this public manner, to say more than that it
 “ is impossible for us to insert his third letter.” This seems plainly to intimate that the authority on which he contradicted my information was from the ministry, who obliged him to apologize for what he had already said, as being too true for the public knowledge.

Now I have suffered too much already in my private fortune, by the capture of *St. John's*, to be willing to expose myself to be hampered by those in power, merely for telling truth; I therefore sit down to relate the above circumstances to you, for you to make such use of them, as your better prudence and experience shall suggest, for the information of the public. As to the truth of them, I have already and do again desire no better testimony, than to appeal to the many witnesses who are now in England, who were at *St. John's* at its surrender, and are arrived some in private ships, and others in the *cartel* ship. If I have said any thing untrue, it would be very easy for them in a public manner to demonstrate my falsehoods; but however willing they may be to press their fingers on their lips, through prudence, I am much mistaken if any of them would publicly set their names to the falsity of things known for truth by all the inhabitants of *St. John's*. I am not unacquainted with the French commandant, a man well known in those parts, and deservedly esteemed as well for his worthy qualities, as especially for his humanity to our countrymen after our defeat before Quebec. At *St. John's* he gave another instance of the same, by desiring some of the inhabitants to come to his camp, to see the thousand grenadiers he had landed, and thereby preserve the town from
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plunder and the consequences of a storm. On his arrival in town, he publicly declared that he knew the small number of the garrison, which remained there; which, according to the report of those I met at *New-York*, did not exceed *forty*. This is in some measure confirmed by the *Paris Gazette*, which makes it but *sixty-three*, exclusive of the crew of the *Gramont*; and, we imagine, for the honour of their conquest, they have eked out of the list as much as possible. I make little doubt that our next advices from *Newfoundland* will confirm another part of my information, namely that *Placentia* is still in our possession, which if it had no better garrison originally than *St. John's*, must just as well have fallen too, as the *French* have there full 1500 men, besides the crews of their ships, and well knew that we had no naval force at *Halifax*, nor could any arrive to annoy them sooner than from *England*. If *Placentia* should fall too, we shall then judge, whether what I have further said be without foundation or not, by the number of prisoners which the *French* account shall report to have made there.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

Sept. 2.

PISCATOR.

I have read the celebrated letter from *Wandsworth*, which has been circulated with so much industry for the two last days. It is a mixture of absurdity and inconsistency. The author says that he *writes without any particular information*; yet soon after *takes for granted, that the Peace now offered by France and Spain united, is in many respects better, and in no respect worse, than the peace, which was so near being concluded the last year*. How comes he to *take this for granted*, for by his own account, the declaration of the administration is very *general*, and therefore I think highly *suspicious*? He declares *that the terms now offered are much more favourable to Briton than those*

those that were the foundation of the treaty last year. Was the peace offered to us, or was it not humbly asked by us? He very dextrously passes over the important change in the courts of *Russia* and *Sweden*, no longer hostile to us, or our allies; the conquest of *Martinique*, perhaps the *Havannah*, &c. which have happened since the negotiation begun last year; and speaks with great tenderness of the cruel taxation in *France*. He then calls on the enemies of peace to contradict him, that there is no likelihood of compelling *France* to submit to terms better for us than those now offered by another campaign. I really believe not, if his blundering friends are to continue our managers. But who are these enemies of peace? Does he mean the city of *London*, because he affirms the capital derives peculiar advantages from the war? I have not heard of any man such an enemy to his country, as not to wish for peace; but it is not any peace; it must be a safe and honourable peace, adequate to the successes of the war; and whoever dares to make any other peace, I hope every good Englishman will stand forth, and drag him, even from behind the throne, should he take shelter there, to receive the just punishment of so great treachery to his injured country.

NUMB. XVI. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18,
1762.

Still nod the plumage o'er the brainless head;
Still o'er the faithless heart the ribbon spread.

WHITEHEAD'S Manners.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I Beg pardon for the use of so unfashionable a word, but I must say that I am an *Englishman*. I now prefer that word to *Briton*, because there is lately established
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in my neighbourhood a club, consisting intirely of *Scottish* gentlemen and the *Scottish* tradesmen they deal with, who affect always to call themselves *Britons*. There is besides a very mean writer, who is every week endeavouring, with much success, to make the word *Briton* as universally ridiculous, as *Cibber*, and his simple Successor, have the word *Ode*, which no man of taste at this hour hears pronounced without laughing.

I do not mean, Sir, to dwell on words. I call myself an *Englishman*, because it is the term the natives of my country generally use; and I am proud that from their innate valour and intrepidity it has been as much honoured and dreaded, as ever that of *Roman* was. I might add, that whole empires, where the *Roman eagle never flew*, have revered the name of *England*, and *crouched to our lion*. My heart too is *intirely English*, and like that of a good citizen, has *rejoiced* over every victory my brave countrymen have gained. With what triumph did I read the Spanish minister's declaration, *that the court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with!* This was, I think, in August last, under the late *spirited and successful* administration. But ever since the loss of *Newfoundland*, I am afraid to enquire, because I am certain I should blush to hear the sentiments of foreigners concerning us.

But, Sir, our greatest glory is, that we have an *English king* on the throne, with the best dispositions, and the warmest desires of making us happy under his mild government. He is truly the delight of his people, and we justly pride ourselves in being governed by a prince who makes the laws the rule of his actions. His throne is founded in justice and mercy. He has not waded through blood to it; nor has he since stained it with the foulest murder*. I hope therefore that *his* reign will be long.

* See Number X.

long and prosperous, and that he will continue enthroned in the hearts of his subjects. May he never lose the smallest share of our regard and affections by an ill-placed confidence in a weak or wicked minister, whose interest it may become in future time to alienate his sovereign from all his *old and faithful* servants, in order to recommend his own creatures, however *suspected* they may be even in affection and fidelity to his master's family, and despicable in the eyes of their country!

I am, Sir, so much of an *Englishman*, that I most ardently love my country, and mean to *spend all my days in it*. I must own too that I warmly enter into all the honest prejudices of my countrymen. I despise the *cordon bleu* of France, and think *the most noble order of the garter* is the only order in Europe really to be valued. I have been out of humour for a week, that I cannot have the happiness of seeing my sovereign, in all the pomp and dignity the august ceremonies of the *installation* at Windsor are so soon to call for, to the admiration of my countrymen. I should be highly gratified also to see another prince of the house of *Brunswic*, enrolled with the greatest names of this and of almost every other civilized nation; with our *Henries* and *Edwards*, with *Francis the first*, and *Henry the fourth* of France, *Gustavus Adolphus* of Sweden, &c. I really think this *most noble order* will itself derive the truest lustre from every additional name of the *Brunswic* family, because they have ever been the patrons of liberty in so conspicuous a manner, as to be *beyond all Greek, beyond all Roman fame*; and have so nobly answered those great ends for which they were called to the imperial crown of these realms, the preservation of the sacred rights of this people. I wish therefore that the heir to the crown, and, I hope, to the patriot virtues of his family, even thus early, had the *blue ribbon*; or that at least *one had been reserved for him*. I cannot but look upon that given to the *Scot*, as fitter for a *Prince of Wales*; and I should have had true satisfaction in seeing the youngest prince

of a family, to whom we owe our invaluable liberties, adorned with the ensigns of this *English* order. I own my indignation rises on this occasion, and is only equalled by my grief, at another *Stuart's* being installed in *St. George's Chapel*. We have suffered enough by the whole race: but I find we are for ever at least to be reminded of them. I have heard of a vain inscription at the family-seat of *Mount-Stuart*, *Not they from kings, but kings from them*. Is this the subject of panegyric? Are these the benefactors of mankind, the guardians of the liberties of their country and of Europe, which the *Nassau* and *Brunswic* race have cemented with their blood? If we are to judge of the stem, by what has proceeded from it, a series of cowardly and merciless tyrants, then it is indeed most accursed; and I will affirm, because the English history proves it, that it had been happier for this country, if every *Male Stuart* had been strangled in the birth. Each reign of that family was one continued attack on our laws and constitution. Since the accession of the most illustrious house of *Brunswic*, our liberties and the excellent constitution of this country have been revered by the sovereign, equally with the most favourite branch of his prerogative. No one instance can be alledged of an Englishman's suffering, but from the just sentence of his country, since the auspicious dawn of the first of August 1714. I will therefore, as an *Englishman*, reverence the name of *Brunswic*, and hold in eternal contempt and infamy that of *Stuart*.

I observe that the *garter* has been the gift of virtue to her sons, for noble actions against the enemy, *the Gaul subdued*, or for the blessings of concord and harmony restored among the citizens at home, or for manly worth, superior gifts of understanding, and unspotted virtue. I will not now invidiously point out under which class I would rank the *Scottish Knight elect*, because I think he has an equal right to all; only I will observe, that the statutes of the order expressly require him to be *without reproach*.

reproach. But I regret exceedingly that the *Knight elect* did not keep to the northern order of his own countrymen, which he might have done without the least envy; and really there would be at present a peculiar propriety in it, from two very strong reasons, which I shall leave my reader to find out from *Elias Ashmole*, that important but rather tedious *Windsor herald and historian.* The order of *St. Andrew, or the Thistle, in Scotland,* is reported by *John Lesley, bishop of Ross,* to take beginning from a bright cross in heaven, in fashion of that whereon *St. Andrew* suffered martyrdom, which appeared to *Hunstus king of the Picts* (and to the Scots, whom *Achaisus king of Scotland* sent to his assistance) the night preceding the battle with *Athelstan, king of England,* OVER WHOM PREVAILING, they went in solemn procession to the Kirk of *St. Andrew,* to thank God and his apostle for their victory, promising that they and their posterity would ever bear the figure of that cross in their ensigns and banners. Or if the reader chuses to ascribe it to the old allies of the Scots, the perfidious *French,* rather than to their antient enemies the *English,* *Ashmole* is still my authority. He says, from *Menenius,* There are some that refer the institution of the *Thistle* to the reign of *Charles the seventh, king of France,* WHEN THE AMITY WAS RENEWED BETWEEN BOTH KINGDOMS; that is, between France and Scotland.

At the election of a Knight into our most noble order, I think the investiture is made with the *Garter* and *George,* but the *Star* is not worn till the day of *installation.* All the trivial, fond records of the *garter* are filled with pompous accounts of the brightness of the *star,* and the irradiated virtues pourtrayed by it. I shall not tire myself with transcribing any of them; nor will I mention the miseries which the new *aurora borealis* is thought to portend to this country, and which we already begin to feel. That *ignis fatuus of glory,* (for such is the base phrase of the BRITON) I should hope, is almost burnt out. I will, only for a little while, advise the *little stars* to hide their diminish'd rays. I shall conclude with four

very good lines, written by a very mean author, the last of which would be a most excellent motto for the order.

Yet if beneath no real virtue reign,
On the gay coat the *star* is but a *stain*:
For could I whisper in his Lordship's ear,
Worth *only beams true radiance on the STAR.*

NUMB. XVII. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25,
1762.

Its proper power to hurt each creature feels,
Bulls aim their horns, and asses lift their heels. POPE.

THE humourous Mr. *Hogarth*, the *supposed* author of the *Analysis of beauty*, has at last entered the list of politicians, and given us a print of THE TIMES. *Words are man's province*, says *Pope*, but they are not Mr. *Hogarth's* province. He somewhere mentions his being indebted to a friend for a third part of the *wording*: that is his phrase. We all titter the instant he takes up a *pen*, but we tremble when we see the *pencil* in his hand. I will do him the justice to say, that he possesses the rare talent of gibbeting in colours, and that in most of his works he has been a very good moral satirist. His fort is there, and he should have kept it. When he has at any time deviated from *his own peculiar walk*, he has never failed to make himself perfectly ridiculous. I need only make my appeal to any one of his *historical* or *portrait* pieces, which are now considered as almost beneath all criticism. The favourite *Sigismunda*, the labour of so many years, the boasted effort of his art, was not *human*. If the figure had a resemblance of any thing ever on earth, or had the least pretence to meaning or expression, it was what he

he had seen, or perhaps made, in real life, his own wife in an agony of passion; but of what passion no connoisseur could guess. All his friends remember what tiresome discourses were held by him day after day about the transcendent merit of it, and how the great names of *Raphaël*, *Vandyke*, and others, were made to yield the palm of beauty, grace, expression, &c. to him, for this long laboured, yet still *uninteresting*, single figure. The value he himself set on this, as well as on some other of his works, almost exceeds belief; yet from politeness or fear, or some other motives, he has actually been paid the most astonishing sums, as the price, not of his merit, but of his unbounded vanity.

The darling passion of Mr. *Hogarth* is to shew the *faulty* and *dark* side of every object. He never gives us in perfection the *fair face of nature*, but admirably well holds out her deformities to ridicule. The reason is plain. All objects are painted on his *retina* in a grotesque manner, and he has never felt the force of what the French call *la belle nature*. He never caught a single idea of beauty, grace, or elegance; but on the other hand he never missed the least flaw in almost any production of nature or of art. This is his true character. He has succeeded very happily in the way of humour, and has miscarried in every other attempt. This has arose in some measure from his head, but much more from his heart. After *marriage à-la-mode* the public wished for a series of prints of a *bappy* marriage. *Hogarth* made the attempt, but the rancour and malevolence of his mind made him very soon turn with envy and disgust from objects of so pleasing contemplation, to dwell and feast a bad heart on others of a hateful cast, which he pursued, for he found them congenial, with the most unabating zeal, and unrelenting gall.

I have observed for some time his *setting sun*. He has long been very *dim*, and almost *shorn of his beams*. He seems so conscious of this, that he now glimmers with *borrowed light*. *John Bull's house in flames* has been

hackney'd in fifty different prints; and if there is any merit in the figure or stilts, and the mob prancing around, it is not to be ascribed to *Hogarth* but to *Callot*. That spirited *Italian*, whom the *English* painter has so carefully studied, has given us in the *Balli di Sfesania di Jacomo Callot*, the very same ideas, but infinitely more ludicrous in the execution. The piece in *Smaruolo cornuto*, *Ratfa di Boio*. THE TIMES must be confessed destitute of every kind of *original* merit. The print at the first view appears too much crouded with figures; and is in every part confus'd, perplex'd, and imbarass'd. The story is not well told to the eye, nor can we any where discover the faintest ray of that genius, which with a few strokes of the pencil enabled us to penetrate into the deepest recesses of thought, and even caprice, in a rake, a harlot, and a profligate young man of quality.

I own too that I am grieved to see the genius of *Hogarth*, which should take in all ages and countries, sunk to a level with the miserable tribe of party etchers, and now, in his rapid decline, entering into the poor politics of the faction of the day, and descending to low personal abuse, instead of instructing the world, as he could once, by manly moral satire. Whence can proceed so surprizing a change? Is it the frowardness of old age? Or is it that envy and impatiencè of resplendent merit in every way, at which he has always sickened? How often has he been remarked to droop at the fair and honest applause given even to a friend, though he had particular obligations to the very same gentleman? What wonder then that some of the most respectable characters of the age become the objects of his ridicule? It is sufficient that the rest of mankind applaud; from that moment he begins the attack, and you never can be well with him, till he hears an universal outcry against you; and till all your friends have given you up. There is besides a silly affectation of singularity, joined to a strong desire of leading the rest of the world: when that is once found impracticable, the spleen engendered

on such an occasion is discharged at a particular object, or ends in a general misanthropy. The public never had the least share of *Hogarth's* regard, or even good will. *Gain* and *vanity* have steered his little light bark quite through life. He has never been consistent but with respect to those two principles. What a despicable part has he acted with regard to the society of *arts and sciences*! How shuffling has his conduct been to the whole body of *Artists*! Both these useful societies have experienced the most ungentle and offensive behaviour from him. There is at this hour scarcely a single man of any degree of merit in his own profession, with whom he does not hold a professed enmity. It is impossible the least degree of friendship could ever subsist in this intercourse of the arts with him; for his insufferable vanity will never allow the least merit in another, and no man of a liberal turn of mind will ever condescend to feed his pride with the gross and fulsome praise he expects, or to burn the incense he claims, and indeed snuffs like a most gracious God. To this he joins no small share of jealousy; in consequence of which he has all his life endeavoured to suppress rising merit, and has been very expert in every mean underhand endeavour, to extinguish the least spark of genuine fire. But all *genius* was not born, nor will die, with Mr. *Hogarth*: and notwithstanding all his ungenerous efforts to damp or chill it in another, I will trust to a discerning and liberal spirit in the English nation, to patronize and reward all real merit. It will in the end rise superior to the idle laugh of the hour, which these triflers think it the highest praise to be able to raise. For my part, I scarcely know a more profligate principle, than the indiscriminately sacrificing every thing, however great or good, to the dangerous talent of ridicule; and a man whose sole object is *dummodo risum excutiat*, ought to be avoided as the worst pest of society, as the *enemy* most to be feared, I mean a treacherous *friend*. Such a man will go all lengths to raise a laugh at your expence, and

your whole life will be made miserable from his ambition of diverting the company for half an hour.

I love to trace the ideas of a genius, and to mark the progress of every art. Mr. *Hogarth* had heard much of the *cobwebs* of the law, and the *spinning fine spider-webs*, &c. This is thrown on paper, and the idea carefully treasured. Lord *Hardwick* being at the head of the law, and deservedly in as high esteem with his countrymen, as any man who ever held the Seals, unspotted in life, and equally revered by prince and people, becomes an excellent subject for the satirical pencil of a malevolent painter. He is accordingly emblematically represented by Mr. *Hogarth* as a great spider in a large, thick web, with myriads of the carcases of *flies, clients* I suppose, sucked to death by the gloomy tyrant. Mr. *Hogarth* had heard of Mr. *Pitt's* being *above* all his fellow-citizens, and of his superior virtue having *raised* him to an envied and dangerous *height* of grandeur. Now this he has taken literally, and, with the kind aid of *Callot*, has put Mr. *Pitt* on stilts, and made the people *look up* to him; which, after all this insipid ridicule, they will continue to do, as a kind of tutelary deity, from whom they expect that security and those blessings they despair of from others. As to the conceit of the *bellows*, to signify, I suppose, Mr. *Pitt's* endeavours to blow up the flames of war and discord, it is at once very poor and very false. His whole conduct the last session in parliament, and out of the house ever since, has demonstrated the contrary: *neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vità et moribus comprobavit.* Cic. de Fin.

Lord *Temple* is a nobleman of fine parts and unfulfilled honour, who has shown a thorough disinterestedness, a great love of liberty, and a steady attachment to the public, in every part of his conduct through life. It was impossible such a character could be missed by the poisoned shafts of envy, which we see pointed at all superior virtue. He has besides, the merit of joining in the *written reasons* of the 18th of September. This too
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can never be forgiven; for the nation is now convinced that had they been followed, the *British* standard had long before this been flying on the walls of the *Havanah*, and the solid mass of strength in *North America* collected by Mr. *Pitt*, had not melted away in the hospitals at *Cuba*. We should not then have had the elements to fight with, or to frustrate those great attempts which our enemies despaired of baffling, had they been made with prudence and a most necessary regard to the season and climate. What a scandalous sacrifice has there been of our brave countrymen from our ill-timing of this important expedition! A minister must not only possess a very *narrow*, but a very *wicked* genius, who can consider this as an event that *saves expence*, and frees us from so *many mouths that were to be fed*, and *bodies that were to be cloathed*. This is another humane instance of ministerial *economy*. No envy will attend such ministers. Contempt and horror will. I must here observe, that there is one merit ascribed to Lord *Temple* by the *Briton*, to which he has no kind of pretence. I mean the *having delivered such fine orations among the independant electors of Westminster, when he inveighed with such force of energy and argument against the Brothers who directed the helm of government*. Now I will venture to say, that Lord *Temple* never once set his foot among *the independant electors of Westminster*; although I must confess that Mr. *George Grenville* FREQUENTLY did, after his *first* introduction to that worthy body, by the mirror of patriots and placemen, *Saul Whitehead, Esq;* who has since had the grace to take shame to himself for it. Mr. *Hogarth's* wit on this noble Lord is confined to the wretched conceits of the *Temple-Coffee-house*, and a *squirt* to signify the *playing on the ministry*. I really believe this wit is all Mr. *Hogarth's* own.

When a man of parts dedicates his talents to the service of his country, he deserves the highest rewards: when he makes them subservient to base purposes, he

merits

merits execration and punishment. Among the *Spartans*, music and poetry were made to serve the noblest ends of the *Lacedemonian* state. A manly courage and great contempt of death were inspired by them, and the poet, musician, soldier, and patriot were often the same good citizen, who despised the low *mechanic lucre* of the profession, and was zealous only for the glory of his country. In the year 1746, when the *Guards* were ordered to march to *Finchley*, on the most important service they could be employed in, the extinguishing a *Scottish* rebellion, which threatened the intire ruin of the illustrious family on the throne, and, in consequence, of our liberties, Mr. *Hogarth* came out with a print to make them ridiculous to their countrymen and to all *Europe*; or perhaps it rather was to tell the *Scots* in his way how little the *Guards* were to be feared, and that they might safely advance. That the ridicule might not stop here, and that it might be as offensive as possible to his own *Sovereign*, he dedicated the print to the king of *Pru[s]sia*,* as an encourager of arts. Is this patriotism? In old *Rome*, or in any of the *Grecian* states, he would have been punished as a profligate citizen, totally devoid of all principle. In *England* he is rewarded, and made *serjeant* painter to that very king's grandson. I think the term means the same as what is vulgarly called *house-painter*; and indeed he has not been suffered to *caricature* the royal family. The post of portrait painter is given to a *Scotsman*, one *Ramsay*. Mr. *Hogarth* is only to paint the wainscot of the rooms, or, in the phrase of the art, may be called their *panel-painter*. But how have the *Guards* offended Mr. *Hogarth*, for he is again attacking them in *THE TIMES*? Lord *Harrington's* second troop of grenadier guards is allowed to be very perfect in every part of military discipline; and *Hogarth's* friend, the king of *Prussia*, could have shewn him the real importance of it. He had heard them

much

* This is the orthography of Mr. *Hogarth*. See the print.

much applauded, and therefore must abuse them. The ridicule ends however in *airs composed by Harrington*, and in a piece of *clockwork*; but he ought to have known, that though *l'homme machine* is not sound philosophy, it is the true doctrine of tactics.

The *Militia* has received so many just testimonies of applause, both from their king and country, that the attack of envy and malevolence was long expected. But I dare say this poor jester will have Mr. *George Townshend's* free consent to vent his spleen upon him and the gentlemen of *Norfolk*. I believe he may ever go on in this way almost unnoticed; at one time ridiculing the *Guards* for a *disorderly*, and at another the *Militia* for an *exact* and *orderly* march. Mr. *Townshend* will still have the warm applause of his country, and the truest satisfaction, that of an honest heart, for his patriot labours in establishing this great plan of internal defence, a *Militia*, which has delivered us from the ignominy of *foreign hirelings*, and the ridiculous fears of invasion, by a brave and well-disciplined body of *Englishmen*, at all times ready and zealous for the defence of their country, and of its laws and constitution.

NUMB. XVIII. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2,

1762.

Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no Peace; and one built up a wall, and lo! others daubed it with untempered mortar. Say unto them, which daub it with untempered mortar, that it shall fall.

BIBLE.

IN the present situation of affairs, when *Peace* is the great object of every man's attention, it is extremely natural that it should be the general subject of conversation.

fation. It is no less surprising to hear how differently men think and speak of it now, from what they did during the late popular administration. *Peace* was then considered by *our Enemies*, the ENGLISH, as the most desirable of all blessings, but is now spoken of as the greatest of all misfortunes, and to make *peace* and to ruin the nation are esteemed by them terms of the same import. This difference can arise only from their apprehensions that the terms of *peace* now will not be so advantageous to this nation, as those on which Mr. PITT had formed himself. But what foundation have they for these apprehensions, what shadow of reason for these fears? Is it that the situation of our affairs is altered, and therefore they fear an alteration in the terms of peace, or that they have a bad opinion of my worthy countryman, and distrust his integrity, or his abilities, or both? One of these must be the cause of the present clamour, though neither of them should in reason be so. As to the situation of our affairs, they never were in a more flourishing condition; and as to my Lord BUTE, is it not sufficient to say that he has done no good, unless they can prove that he has done harm. Happy would it often have been for this kingdom, if her ministers had been of such a complexion, as to do neither the one nor the other! But if we seriously and impartially examine things, we shall find both from the manner in which the war has been carried on during the present administration, the unusual and amazing success we have met with, the caution with which we have entered into the negotiation, and the person who is appointed to conduct it, that as we have a clear right to demand, so have we the greatest reason in the world to expect, such terms as may prove of solid and lasting advantage to these kingdoms.

It is agreed on all hands, that England in her wars with France should never sheath the sword till *Peace* is absolutely concluded. The wicked policy of that nation, their superior address in negotiation, their total disregard of faith, and their known arts of spinning out
treaties

treaties merely to gain time to recover strength, without any real intention of bringing them to a conclusion, have taught us this lesson, although we have seldom been prudent enough to put it in practice. In justice to the present administration however it must be allowed, that they have profited by the mistakes of their predecessors. Willing to make peace, yet they shew themselves ready to make war, and prudently consider a suspension of arms as advantageous only to the weaker party. It must be confessed indeed that they have not sheathed the sword in the bowels of the enemy, but they have gloriously kept it hanging over their heads: moved by Christian charity, they have not done the French any actual harm; but then they have plainly enough shewn the power of doing it, if they will; a power which they will no doubt exert, if, contrary to good faith, France, having recovered her spirits and strengthened herself with new alliances during the course of a long and fruitless negotiation, should think proper to renew the war. To fit out great and mighty fleets, to block up the French and Spanish fleets in their ports, or to defeat them if they came out, unless they were going to *Newfoundland*, was what every sanguine Englishman would have promised to himself beyond all doubt. But to let our fleets lie rotting in port, to suffer our men to be enervated with sloth, and to dissolve in inactivity, to squander away our treasures, and to send out, merely by way of amusement and to take the air, our bravest admirals and our strongest fleets, at a time when we are engaged in a war with France and Spain, these are instances of such a confident and well-grounded superiority, as must strike terror into our enemies, and reflect the highest credit on that administration for whom alone such glorious proofs of power were reserved.

It must not however be dissimbled, that we have met with some petty mortifications during this glorious period. *Newfoundland* is lost; but what is *Newfoundland*? Apply for information to the BRITON, apply to
the

the AUDITOR, and they shall tell you that it is a place of little or no consequence either to the FRENCH or ENGLISH. Those nations indeed have almost from the time of its first settlement been contending for it as a place of the utmost importance; but they greatly over-rated it; the BRITON and AUDITOR have fixed its true value; they assert it, and their assertions are proofs. As to the disappointment which we met with on the coast of *France* in the late secret expedition, that rather reflects honour than discredit on those ministers, who took such prudent steps, as prevented it from transpiring, and becoming matter of complaint to a turbulent and discontented people, a people of such a disposition; that *they ought to be ruled with a rod of iron*. As to the great expedition under Admiral HAWKE, which hath occasioned such murmurs, the odium ought to fall on Mr. PITT and the ADMIRAL: on Mr. PITT, for not accustoming fleets to go out *merely to come back again*, and on the ADMIRAL, for preferring honour to safety, and the daring but dangerous directions of the former minister to the good-humoured and safe commands of the present. But however malcontents may endeavour to aggravate these trifles, yet one action more than balances them; I mean that *great, that glorious event*, the taking of the HERMIONE; an event of such *national* consequence, and so *unequall'd* in history, that our *new ally* Mr. HOGARTH ingeniously insinuates, that it more than counterpoises all our losses, and is alone sufficient to establish the credit of the present ministry.

Our success therefore gives us a right to demand, and the spirit with which the ministry have carried on the war, a probability of obtaining a good peace; and notwithstanding the popular cry which hath industriously been raised against them, I am apt to think that under the auspices of our great patron, we shall see a happy end of this war. In this opinion I am the rather confirmed, because in our present situation I do not see how he can make a bad *peace* without the most imminent danger to himself

himself. A nation elated with such successes, promising to herself the advantages of a secure and extended commerce in peace to reimburse the charges of a long and burdensome war, can never tamely suffer the fruits of their labours to be lost: nor indeed is there any one inducement to precipitate us into a *peace*. Was the minister distrusted, and did he find any difficulty in raising supplies to carry on the war, this might prompt an ambitious man to patch up a *peace* on any terms, and to sacrifice the interest of a whole nation to his thirst of power; but blessed be St. Andrew, this is so far from being the case, that I trust never was minister more respected or beloved. His private life bears witness to his integrity; the course of his administration, short as it hath been, loudly speaks his amazing capacity; and both together have purchased that intire confidence throughout the nation, and especially in the city of LONDON, that their purses are as much at his command as their hearts. Thus situated, he can have no inducement to make a bad peace; and the appointment of that great Duke to the embassy, is a proof that he hath no such intentions. His truly patriot spirit, his known love of his country, his clearness of head, equal to the clearness of his heart, sufficiently secure us from any reasonable apprehensions on this point. Had a person been sent who on all occasions had lamented our successes, whose avarice was known to wish an end to the war on any terms, merely on account of the land-tax: whose pride was equalled by nothing but his ignorance; whose spirit was too great to think before he adopted an opinion, and his understanding too weak to suffer any change after he had adopted it; from the management of such a man, I own we should have every thing to fear, whereas now we have every thing to hope.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

Sept. 30.

THE news of the reduction of the *Havannah*, which arrived last night, gives me the sincerest pleasure, but I must say, suggests to me at the same time, some painful apprehensions with relation to the manner in which it is to be disposed of in case of a *peace*. Surely we can never think of immediately giving up what has cost us the precious blood of so many brave *Englishmen*, and of gratifying the insolent Spaniard with a sacrifice of such numbers of our fellow subjects. If it is to be surrendered, which the people seem to take for granted, we certainly have a right to expect those articles, on which they grounded the present war, to be determined in our favour. The consequence of the *Havannah* to the Spaniards we all know; and I hope we shall not be so wantonly generous, as not to make an advantage of it. I am anxious to hear the particulars of the siege, and shall with the heart of an Englishman read an account of my countrymen; the return of one of whom, the gallant Capt. *Hervey*, whose behaviour on this occasion renders him dear to every Englishman, gives me the truest satisfaction.

I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

NUMB. XIX.

NUMB. XIX. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9,
1762.

Superior virtue, wisdom, might,
Create and mark the ruler's right,
So reason must conclude ;
Then thine it is, to whom belong
The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,
Thrice sacred multitude !

ODE to MANKIND.

THE following letter, which I have received from *Trowbridge in Wiltshire*, I offer to the public entire, because it glows throughout with the true spirit of liberty, and carries with it that strength of argument, and force of conviction, which must captivate every candid mind beyond all the subtleties and sophisms of the *Wandsworth* epistle.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

September 22.

AS the BRITON, of Saturday the 11th instant, is an impudent libel on all the good people of *England* in general, as well as on the city of *LONDON* in particular, representing all the *nobility, gentry, merchants, tradesmen, yeomen*, and all the *commonalty*, as a seditious rabble, which despises all government, because they express a dislike to some measures relative to a *peace*; and as our constitution is reproached with being an *ochlocracy*, or mob-common-wealth, because it permits our people to murmur with impunity at the conduct they cannot approve, which by the bye is inculcating the vilest tyranny

H

ever

ever practised by the worst monsters of all the *Roman* emperors, pray indulge me in communicating to the public a few remarks upon so extraordinary a performance.

I must first observe, that this advocate of tyranny and despiser of the people sets out with some foolish remarks upon modern philosophers, which being trifling and insignificant, I shall pass them over without any farther notice. He then informs us "*that there are a set of speculative philosophical reformers who have espoused the plebian interest, from an innate aversion to all order and restraint.*" This is, we must confess, a very extraordinary position. *Philosophers espousing the interests of mankind from an innate aversion to all order and restraint.* Wonderful truly! But pray where are those philosophers? What are their names? Where were they born? I believe they received their first existence in this *fellow's* brains; for no one ever heard of such monsters before. *Moses, Minos, Zaleucus, Plato, Aristotle, Tully, Tacitus, Machiavel, Harrington, Nevil, Sidney, Locke, and Gordon,* have all written upon government; but I never heard, that any of them were accused of being philosophers, *who hated all order.* This extraordinary species of philosophers was reserved for the discovery of that *extraordinary genius*, the author of the BRITON. Well; *philosophical politicians espousing the interests of mankind from an aversion to order!* Could any poor creature write such stuff, unless one lately eloped from *Bedlam?*

He proceeds and observes, that it is "*to be hoped some of these politicians, who have an aversion to order, are instigated to it by motives of humanity and benevolence;*" and then concludes, "*that such a disposition is mistaken philanthropy.*" What a profound discovery! What admirable sentiment! O reader! if that thou canst read, read this paragraph of our author's again and again, for thy instruction in politics. But now for the root of this political evil, this philosophical aversion

aversion to order, arising from a regard to the interests of the people. This, our author tells us, proceeds from (remark him!) *the opinion that every individual is equally free by nature, and hence has an equal right to intermeddle in the administration of public affairs: a principle, he says, subversive of all government.*

Government is a just execution of the laws, which were instituted by the people for their preservation: but if the people's implements, to whom they have trusted the execution of those laws, or any power for their preservation, should convert such execution to their destruction, have they not a right to intermeddle? Nay, have they not a right to resume the power they have delegated, and to punish their servants who have abused it? If *our king can do no wrong*, his ministers may, and are accountable to the people for their conduct. This is the voice of *Locke*, the voice of our laws, the voice of reason; but we own not the voice of tyrants and their abettors, not the voice of the *Briton*. On the contrary, this wretch preaches up the doctrine, that some part of mankind, nay, the mass, are born slaves, who ought implicitly to be submissive to the caprices of a few, who by accident, knavery, or cunning, shall wriggle themselves into power. One would think this doctrine came into *England*, or was transplanted into this country, from the *heritable jurisdictions* in the *HIGHLANDS* of *Scotland*. We are plainly told, that though we are passengers in the state-veffel, and see the pilot going to run her on the rocks, and make a wreck of her, and a boat provided for his own escape, yet we must blindly submit, and, without a murmur, suffer the villain to execute his hellish purpose: nor dare to intermeddle with the helm, though we know we shall go to the bottom, unless we tip him over-board, tack, and steer another way.

This is admirable doctrine truly! The four last years of queen *Anne* did not produce finer flowers from the garden of tyranny than this. Observe *Britons*, what this despicable wretch, and tool of some in power,

would reduce you to. Are these the sentiments of his paymasters? Is this the cue given him in his instructions, to boldly assert, that *Englishmen* are all born to be slaves to a few persons, who happen either by accident to possess a larger fortune, or by his own lewdness and debauchery, or by the wicked mean arts of a father or a grandfather, to worm themselves into an estate, and thence wriggle into power, though originally the dregs of the mob? O thou most excellent philanthropist! Thy politics qualify thee to be *Reis Effendi*, or secretary of state to the *Grand Seignier*, the *Great Mogul*, the *Inquisition*, or the Emperor of *Morocco*. How would the *Dionysii*, *Agathocles*, *Phalaris*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus*, have hugged such a counsellor of state, such an abettor, such an excellent politician! Well; it being granted that the bulk of mankind being born slaves to a few, who have by base arts wriggled themselves into the administration of the government of a country, it hence follows, that if any of those slaves dare to censure their conduct, they are guilty of high-treason; such behaviour “being subversive of all government, and “a principle destructive of all national industry and “quiet, as well as repugnant to every fundamental “maxim of society.” Here he has mistaken the proper word, he should have said, *maxim of TYRANNY*.

We hope this advocate for despotic power and slavery, who seems rather to have been born, adapted, and formed for the instruction of the court of *Nero*, than for the modelling the court of so gracious a prince as *GEORGE III.* is not countenanced in his invectives against liberty, and in reviling the free constitutions and laws of his country, nor in publishing panegyrics on slavery and tyranny, by many in power: if he should, the Lord have mercy on us!

In the reigns of the *Roman* tyrants there sprung up often wretches, the very stamp of the author of the *BRITON*, who were the busy implements and flatterers of those monsters of oppression, and the bane of innocence and

and all virtue. But I do not remember, that any such appeared in the reigns of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, or *Marcus Aurelius*; or in case they did, if I mistake not, *Tacitus* informs us, all such wretches were driven from the court and the city, under those good emperors, as the most pernicious vermin, and the pests of the human race. We hope therefore that this traitor to his country, this traducer and slanderer of its laws, this reviler of its constitution, this advocate of tyranny and absolute power, will be soon taken into custody by Mr. *Carrington*, for abusing the form of our government, and disgracing the reign of our gracious sovereign, by publishing a plea for tyranny, and asserting it to be a part of our constitution. Such a wretch ought to be punished as an incendiary, that must create fears, jealousies, and heart-burnings among his majesty's good subjects, and make them suspicious that some attempt is going to be made upon their liberties. What do not the demerits of such a wretch deserve from his injured fellow-citizens?

As if this scribbler had not sufficiently displayed his ignorance and love of tyranny; he proceeds and tells us, "That to give a just idea of a mob-ruled commonwealth, we need only peruse the histories of *Athens* and *Rome* during those periods at which their governments were republican: there (says he) we shall meet with nothing but faction, animosity, persecution, ingratitude, and disquiet." We would ask him, whether this republican form of government introduced so many miseries among the people, or brought so many distresses upon human nature, as the despotic and arbitrary forms have done? In case he should assert they had, he must be a most impudent or a most ignorant fellow. I would ask him if he had not rather live in the canton of *Bern*, *England*, or in *Holland*, than in *Russia*, *Turkey*, *Persia*, or *Indostan*?

But the author of the BRITON must be a very ignorant fellow, as well as impudent one; for what he says of the Athenians, and their government, is the grossest falsehood or misrepresentation: the *Thetes* had no share of the magistracy; they could only assent to, or dissent from, what was proposed to them. However, when *Aristides* for a short time rendered them capable of office, they always modestly left the magistracy to their betters: though it was during the zenith of the *ochlocracy* that they performed their greatest exploits and acquired their highest renown. They consisted only of about twenty thousand families, and yet they became lords paramount of all Greece, excelled in all arts and arms, subdued all the *Ægean* isles, were masters of the seas, extended their conquests to Egypt, often defeated the great king of Persia, and always kept him in awe; and as *Aristophanes* observes, reduced a thousand cities under their dominion. But when this mob-government was abolished, and approached nearer to the *aristocratical*, they sunk in their reputation, and elapsed into baseness and corruption.

I will give one instance of the justice and greatness of soul to be met with in this mob-government. *Themistocles* proposed a great advantage to Athens, but said, to discover what it was would prove its defeat: the *mob* ordered him to communicate it to *Aristides*, who informed them it was *advantageous*, but *unjust*; upon which they rejected it, chusing rather to sacrifice their interest than integrity. But the *Lacedæmonians*, ruled by kings, *Thucydides* says, held for honest what *pleased*, and for honourable what *profited*: yet the BRITON avers with his usual impudence, that the Athenians were a mob, among whom nothing reigned but factions, animosity, ingratitude, and disquiet. Surely this writer must be either a most ignorant or a most abandoned profligate, thus to falsify history to deceive and abuse the people. It is true, historians inform us, that when they were free from foreign wars, they were often employed in domestic

domestic feuds, the ambition and emulation of their great men never failing to raise disturbances among their fellow-citizens, and to divide them into parties and factions, &c. But all their contentions were the work of their leaders, not of the mass of the people, who would have been glad to have lived at peace, had it not been for the ambition, oppression, and violence of the great, who were continually both at *Rome* and *Athens*, labouring to oppress them and deprive them of their liberties and privileges.

Thus we have most clearly proved, that this pedlar in small-ware politics has taken upon him to abuse the Athenians as a mob, and their government as anarchy, without knowing their history. His accounts of the *Athenians* and *Romans* are nearly as similar to truth, as his averring that the present citizens, merchants, traders, and commonalty of LONDON, are just such another rabble as the mob under *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Straw* was formerly. He has given all manner of latitude and scope to his imagination, and indulged falsehood in all her wanton levities: he has dived deep in all kind of filth, emerged loaded with mud, and with this dirt be-daubed his fellow-citizens, the constitution, and the laws of his country.

And now, Sir, indulge me with an *apostrophe*, for I cannot help crying out, Ye worthy citizens of *London*, see! a foul-mouthed ruffian, with the spirit of a parricide and the inquisition, with the infernal rage of a fiend broke loose from the regions of darkness, attack your favourite goddess LIBERTY on her throne, surrounded by you her most zealous votaries; rend her sacred vestments, besmear her with dirt, squirt his venomous excrements in her face, lash her with the keen whips of reproach, and at last, to complete his malice, with the frantic fury of a *Clement*, a *Ravillac*, or a *Damien*, rush forward to plunge a dagger in her heart! O execrable parricide!

When his insulting libels enter your assemblies, why do you not arise, and with honest indignation tear them to pieces, and offer up the mangled fragments to *Vulcan*? Unless you chuse to reserve them for a more ignominious office. You neither want for capacity to discern his insults, nor for spirit to resent the abuse: no; for to do you justice, I must say, whatever the pride of presumption and the swell of vanity may induce some persons to think, the *merchants* of *London*, in their collective capacity, possess more honest, useful, political knowledge, and understand more of the true interest of their country, than all the ministers of state ever discovered, or were masters of, who have appeared in Britain since the invasion of *Julius Cæsar*; however their honest voice may be despised by empty vanity and proud conceit. They have made tyrants tremble on their thrones, and dyed the scaffold with the blood of pernicious, wicked counsellors. That they may always prosper in such pursuits, and confound the machinations of all such advocates for tyranny and slavery as the BRITON and his patrons, is the hearty prayer of,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

In the public papers of last Saturday and Monday appeared the following Advertisement:

THE AUDITOR is called upon to lay before the public the evidence on which he advanced the infamous story at the end of his last Thursday's paper: It is certain that NO CONVERSATION of any kind passed between

between the two persons supposed to be mentioned, except complimentary expressions, some months ago, in the presence of a right honourable gentleman. The whole is an entire and impudent falsehood; and if the gentleman so alluded to was guilty of so flagrant an outrage to honour, he ought to be shunned as the pest of society.

In answer to which the AUDITOR says, *The story is indeed infamous, but by whom is the AUDITOR called upon? Is it by the person charged with that flagrant behaviour? And does he himself plead Not Guilty?* He is called upon by the person supposed to be charged with that flagrant behaviour, who does plead *Not Guilty*, and denies every circumstance of the charge.

October 7.

I am, &c.

NUMB. XX. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16,
1762.

ENGLAND! thy fault FRANCE hath in thee found out,
A nest of hollow bosoms.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE AUDITOR, like other low mechanics in the service of the government, has of late been ordered to work *double tides*, and I suppose of consequence has received *double pay*. When the glad tidings of an *Auditor Extraordinary* were first by himself with such parade announced to the public, I could not suspect that he only meant to *double* the nauseous dose of the week. I thought that the *preliminaries*, or the *great outline* of the *peace*, would have been shadowed out, and the uneasy sensation of a fretful impatience for the appearance of that truly *extraordinary* paper preyed upon me.

me. My disappointment was most severe. I found nothing in the *Auditor Extraordinary* but a great deal of low abuse on the city of *London*, and a dull repetition of old, fulsome, and outré compliments to *all his pay-masters*; compliments which neither he, nor any other man in this country believes. He therefore, in sound policy, has most judiciously made his appeal to a *Chinese philosopher*, whom he soon cures of all his prejudices in favour of this nation; but then, on the other hand, he has given us such a specimen of the *Chinese* in so simple a fellow, that we cannot but laugh in our turn at that *wise* nation. In a former paper he had referred the decision of some constitutional points to the stupid, drunken *Cherokee king**, who *would* not even articulate, and to his *ideal* majesty of *Brobdignag*, who *could* not answer him. He has never once ventured to make the appeal to a cool candid Englishman.

The poor *Chinese*, whom he has dragged to *London*, is first fed with soft, insipid pap, and afterwards with the rankest poison. He is told, that when he first enters this metropolis, he will meet with *daily and weekly libels against a ministry* LEGALLY APPOINTED by the *sovereign power*. How soon will this foreigner learn the beauties of the English language! Not only *daily* but even *weekly* libels. Has the *legality* of the appointment of the ministry been ever disputed? I have only heard that the *prudence* and *fitness* of the choice, from the known incapacity of the persons, has been indeed very highly arraigned. I will illustrate this by a similar case: *Gibber* and *Whitehead* were as *legally* appointed laurets as *Johnson* and *Dryden*. The *legality* never came into question, but the *absurdity* of the choice was the object of just ridicule with the public. But though our *Chinese* is indeed very foolish, he could scarcely avoid making this very obvious remark, that if there are *weekly*, nay *daily* papers, issued against the ministry, it is impossible they can

* The *Cherokee* king was at this time in *London*,

can have the confidence of the nation, or the hearts of the people with them. He would be apt to enquire if the late ministry were every *week*, every *day*, attacked by their own countrymen; and if we were (in the AUDITOR'S words) *torn with party contentions amongst ourselves, or distracted with different views*, while they held the reins of administration. When he was told that *no* writings of that kind then appeared, he must conclude that the late ministry had the full approbation of their country, and was founded in the love and confidence of the people, who, he would find, were known to wish for their continuance, and *weekly, daily* expressed not only their dislike, but their alarming apprehensions of our present minister, with an openness and spirit warranted by the constitution. His inference would be easy and natural, that there is now something not merely suspicious, but *unsafe and rotten* in the state of administration.

The *Auditor* has very obligingly taken care that we shall not remain in any doubt who the new ministry are, thus *legally appointed by the sovereign power*. In a former paper he has given us an imitation of *Swift's* political dictionary of the fashionable words *church, tory, party, &c.* He tells us the present ministry are *two Scotsmen, together with the lord high chancellor, the right honourable the earls of Egremont, Halifax, Talbot, lord Barrington, Sir Francis Dashwood, Sir John Turner, George Grenville, esq. Charles Townshend, esq. &c.* I believe statesmen of such opposite, incoherent, and heterogeneous principles were never before huddled together. The confusion and fermentation which has followed this unnatural mixture we have all seen. I am not so much surprized at finding *Mr. Townshend* at the *far* end of this list, and after some gentlemen now for the first moment, *to their own surprize*, dubb'd statesmen, as I am to find him mentioned at all by the *Auditor*. My reason is, that this statesman is not the *slave of power*, nor the *creature of the minister*. Acknowledged ability and superior talents

talents have alone raised him, and he now holds a great office *, to the entire satisfaction of the public, on the most free and independent terms. He has never stooped to the low arts of cringing to favourites; nor would he ever submit to the insolent controul of a ministerial bashaw. I will answer for him that he will never suffer *his way to be prescribed to him by any proud Scot*. He has proved himself no less the faithful servant of the public than of the prince, and in place has ever preserved the rights of office, the manliness of his character, and a thorough independency in all his conduct. From these considerations it has necessarily happened that no great confidence has at any time been placed by the present ministry in this gentleman. On the contrary, a jealousy and distrust of him have on many occasions indecently broke out.

Two other motives have likewise concurred, and they have both effectually prevented his wonderful abilities and most powerful eloquence ever gaining that ascendancy in the cabinet which they have in parliament, and with the public at large. The first is derived partly from his family, partly from himself; the other is entirely *personal*. This gentleman is of a noble *whig* family, ever steadily attached to the *cause of liberty*, and to *revolution principles*; and has himself never been *warped*, never for a moment deviated from the bright path his ancestors have followed with so much spirit and applause. It is impossible therefore that he can enjoy the smiles of an administration, which has *swept* the *Cocoa* for *statesmen* and *pensioners*, or can really be in any high degree of court favour, now the family on the throne have for some months ceased to govern by their firm friends the *Whigs*, to whom we owe our liberties, and the *Brunswic* family, the glorious protectors of them. It is but justice too to declare, that the house of *Brunswic* owe their firm establishment on the throne of

* Mr. Townshend was at that time Secretary at War.

of these kingdoms to the steady zeal and intrepidity of the *Whigs*. Besides, this gentleman has never *distressed* government. He has often supported it; and, in times of perplexity and embarrassment, has extricated a *weak* and *feeble* ministry, when a national concern has called for the exertion of his abilities. The papers relative to the extent of our rights in *Acadia* and *North America* were drawn up in so correct, clear, and masterly a way, that they have left no room for the smallest cavil of the most shuffling *French* negotiator. This was of the most signal service to government, and was done at an age usually of levity and dissipation; yet is the whole performance so perspicuous and convincing, as well as polished and elegant, that the most experienced and refined statesman might derive real honour from it. This gentleman has passed through almost all the scenes of national business, and in every part of public life has given the clearest proofs of his regard to the principles of liberty, and the rights of the people, secured by the *Revolution*. I therefore rather wondered to find his name at all in the *Auditor's* list. It is upon this principle I suppose the *Duke of Devonshire* is totally omitted. I think he is still *lord chamberlain*, though he is not to be ranked among the ministers. I am glad, however, that he still continues in that high office, as he may perhaps keep out a *Scotsman*; and I hope that no studied slights nor offensive behaviour will induce him to gratify his and our adversary, by an ill-timed resignation. I trust that he will, after the great example of his noble house, pledge himself to the public as the firm and zealous supporter of those old *Whigs*, whom he knows to be the true friends of his country, and whose attachment to him is so visible to all mankind, and so thoroughly to be depended upon in the most arduous moments.

My other motive for believing that Mr. *Townshend* has no share of ministerial confidence, is my knowledge of his superior genius and abilities. The splendor of a great
genius

genius is offensive to men of narrow and mean understanding. His intuitive eye would pierce too far into things not fit, perhaps, to be seen at all, much less to be viewed narrowly by an accurate observer. He joins to an infinite fire of imagination and brilliancy of wit, a cool and solid judgment, a wonderful capacity for business of every kind, the most intense application to it, and a consummate knowledge of the great commercial interests of this country, which I never heard were before united in the same person. Such a man can never be suffered by a *weak minister* to rise to any very considerable degree of power or influence. If such abilities as he possesses should bear him through, it must end in the minister's ruin.

I have not done with the *Auditor's* list, though I shall at present dwell a very little while longer on it. He says, that *he has barely done justice to the characters of those who fill the first departments of the state. Let the most inveterate dealers in calumny single out one of them, and then point out a moral turpitude in his conduct. If they cannot do this, &c.* Now I will keep just to the windward of the law, and will affirm that the *public records* of the courts of justice of this kingdom bear testimony to the falsehood of this assertion. Yet with a candour unknown to the *Auditor*, I will be free to own, that what I dare to allude to is not a transaction which would blast the reputation of a man of *honour*. I speak now according to modern ideas of *honour* and *gallantry*, and he knows that I allude to *more than one* fact of very *immoral turpitude*, established on oath in a long course of judicial proceedings. Any man who has lived in the world will immediately, on casting his eye over the names of the worthies given us by the *Auditor*, recollect an hundred entertaining anecdotes to be parcelled out among the proprietors of that list, and will despise a venal scribbler, who can prostitute his pen to so infamous a purpose. This extravagant encomium is in reality, the most bitter invective I have read, excepting only the following

following cruel satire on the whole body of the English nobility. *The person, who has exhausted all their calumny, is perhaps the most distinguished of the nobility for integrity of life, for the enlargement of his understanding, for the feelings of humanity, and the unblemished honesty of his character.* If this really is the case, I wonder not that the *House of Lords* is of so very little consequence in this nation; I rather think it ought to be of none at all, and must sink into contempt. But surely the public has very little to do with the private life and morals of the minister: let him discharge the duty he owes to the state with fidelity and integrity (with capacity he cannot) and I will not follow him in his private hours of retirement. Whether they pass in the most trifling amusements, in the wonderful disquisitions of a little genius on *cockle-shells, flowers, or plants*, or in the hidden, gloomy recesses of guilt, shall not be my enquiry.

As I am to keep company with the AUDITOR this week, I shall take notice of a trifling charge brought against me by him some time ago. He says, *with a proper distribution of asterisks (for that, let me tell you, is a nostrum for applause, people strangely admiring what they do not understand) you may insinuate, to the bitter cost of a certain nobleman, who that somebody is; and afterwards he adds, I would have you choose some piece of deep scandal; recollect all that has ever been charged upon favourites, then dispose your asterisks******, and thus the business is done. I do not mean to tire my good friend the AUDITOR; it will not take him up much time; but I will beg him to count them, and to tell me how many stars he has found in all the numbers of the NORTH BRITON. I despise so pitiful an evasion. The laws of my country are my protection; my only patron is the PUBLIC, to which I will ever make my appeal, and hold it sacred. I would not use any stars, though I could dispose them as judiciously, and in as proper numbers, as that amazing comic genius *Tristram Shandy*; unless indeed I meant them to the same comic purpose.

NUMB. XXI. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23,
1762.

Semper ego AUDITOR tantum, nunquamne reponem?

Still shall I hear, and never quit the score?

JUVENAL.

AS the attack which was made on the 30th of September by my good friend the AUDITOR, on a Gentleman of known reputation, took its rise entirely from a supposition of that Gentleman's being concerned in this paper, and consequently opposed to falsehood and the AUDITOR, we think it our duty to take every occasion, which offers, of giving the injured party the most public opportunities of vindicating his innocence, and exposing to general contempt a writer, who hath in the most positive manner, asserted facts, which, when called upon, he hath not even attempted to prove, and broached a rank and infamous falsehood, which he hath neither courage to maintain, nor honesty to acknowledge. Two reasons there were indeed which induced us to wish that this affair might not have been canvassed, that it might have been considered as the lie of the day, and, like many other instances of the AUDITOR's happy invention, been wholly disregarded. The one was the character of the Gentleman at whom the slander was pointed, and the other the character of the writer by whom it was directed. All who knew the first, must immediately have declared him incapable of such behaviour; and all who knew the last must have acknowledged him capable of saying or doing any thing which was disingenuous and mean. On these accounts it was impossible the story should ever meet with credit; and

and therefore we could have wished it had passed unnoticed; but since our correspondent is of a different opinion, and a strict and delicate sense of honour determines him to make as public a vindication of his innocence as the nature of the case will admit, we with great cheerfulness insert the following genuine letters.

To the Rev. Dr. BURTON, Head-Master of
WINCHESTER-COLLEGE.

S I R,

WINCHESTER, Oct. 19.

I AM really sorry that it is now become necessary for me to make *another* application to you in relation to the charge supposed to be brought against me in the AUDITOR of the 30th of September. The name of a* young gentleman under your care has been publicly made use of to give sanction to a falsehood, and to blast a character, which I have a right to say, not the slightest stain of dishonour has ever spotted. I am conscious of the most perfect innocence as to every article of this charge, and I desire that the proof of this may be as public as the accusation has been. One natural and obvious method of coming at the truth is certainly by an examination of the youth himself. I beg most earnestly that this may be in the presence of yourself, and the young gentlemen of the college; and, being thus accused, I should hope to be indulged with being at the examination. I am satisfied that the young gentleman will not to my face advance so gross an untruth, as that he has had *one moment's conversation* with me, since *Sir Francis Dashwood* left Winchester in the spring. *Sir Francis* will do me the justice of telling the world, how civil and obliging, and how becoming us both, were the very few conversations we had together, and they all passed in his presence.

* A son of the *Earl of Bute*.

Give me leave, Sir, to remind you, that a very few weeks ago a complaint was made to me of an insult offered to the young gentlemen of the college by some soldiers of the *Buckinghamshire* regiment, which I have the honour of commanding. I made the most immediate enquiry, and found the complaint to have been well founded. I ordered a very exemplary punishment, which was in part inflicted; the rest, at the request of yourself and the young gentlemen, was remitted. By my express orders pardon was asked of the college in a public manner. I hope that, injured as I am, I shall be indulged in the request I make of an enquiry into so heinous a charge brought against me, and said to be supported by a young gentleman under your care. Truth and justice make this strong claim for me, and from the fairness of Dr. *Burton's* character, I am persuaded that he will not suffer the least failure of justice, and that I shall meet with the only two things I ask, candour and impartiality.

What I have proposed must, I think, strike a sensible mind as a probable method of finding out the truth. *That* evidence would be *direct*; the *collateral* evidence is as full as I could wish. Dr. *Brocklesby*, Physician to the army, has given the strongest written testimony in my justification. I inclose his account of a strange, political dialogue, which passed in the bookseller's shop here, at which only the young gentleman, the doctor, and the bookseller were present. I believe this gave rise to the *fable* in the AUDITOR. The evidence of the bookseller will be found as express as the doctor's; no other person, by both their accounts, was present. I am most anxious for the examination of the young gentleman in any manner you chuse (but I hope that it will be public) because it is whispered that he affirms some of the particulars of the charge, which the *Auditor* has so finely cooked up. I declare *upon my honour*, that every particular of the charge is false. I will now just hint what I imagine, from all I have heard, is the real
state

state of the fact. The youth has very frequently in the bookseller's shop abused me in the grossest terms. He knew so little of me, as to be afraid, if I heard of his behaviour, that I should complain to you; and he dreaded the punishment he thought must follow. To save himself he has invented this curious tale, the falsity of which in every particular he knows better than any body. If this should appear to be the case, as I am persuaded it will, I will venture to say that it will give the noble lord his father more real concern than all the papers together, which have been published against him for the last twelvemonth.

You, Sir, have with so just applause formed the tender minds of youth to the noblest principles, and with such success have sown the seeds of virtue and honour, that I need not say how dear and precious to a liberal mind *good fame* is. The fairest virtue cannot escape calumny; but every man, who has it in his power, is, by what ought to be the most cogent of all motives, a strict regard to justice, called upon to vindicate injured innocence.

All the papers I have referred to are inclosed. I beg you to peruse them at your leisure, and afterwards to return them to me.

I am, with great respect,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

TO COLONEL WILKES.

S I R,

WHEN I had the honour of seeing you in my lodgings, I acquainted you with my resolution, that I would not concern myself in the affair: at the same time assured you I would not read any public papers relating to it. I have the honour to be with the greatest regard,

S I R,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Tuesday Morning.

JOHN BURTON.

However willing we shall be, on all occasions, to comply with the desires of our correspondents, we cannot by any means agree, *as desired*, in the present case, to lay these letters before the public, and leave each reader to make his own observations. We would not even wish to prevent our readers from having their opinions, but we never can consent to be tied up from giving our own.

Through the whole letter to the Master of Winchester college, there is a nice sense of honour, a proper spirit of resentment, and that earnest desire of an explanation, which truth is as desirous to obtain, as guilt and falsehood are careful to avoid. The request of a meeting with the young gentleman, under the circumstances there mentioned, is highly reasonable; it is what the injured party certainly has a right to expect, and what the master could not for any good reasons refuse; to which indeed we impute the beautiful brevity of his epistle, the general terms in which his refusal is couched, and the

the peremptory manner in which he shuts up every avenue to a fair and open explanation. I should be glad to know what the cautious and discreet master of that College would have thought, if, on his complaint against the soldier, the colonel had given an answer in his own way, and had positively told him, in his own words, *that he would not concern himself in the affair*. This I think is nearly a similar case. The person supposed to have raised this story laid the scene of it in a place and at a time when he was immediately under the direction of the master, and accountable to him for any misbehaviour. On what principles therefore he can avoid taking cognizance of the affair I cannot see, unless he considers himself appointed only as an instructor in languages, as one who has no charge of the heart, nothing to do with the morals of his pupils, and equally unconcerned whether they tread the paths of honour, or give themselves up to vice and meanness. Had the meeting required in this letter been agreed to, and let me say the honour of the young Gentleman himself, *if innocent* seemed loudly to demand it, the first rise and whole progress of this affair had been laid open, the public had been satisfied, the innocent cleared, and the guilty given up to that contempt they deserved: but since this is denied, we shall venture to give our opinions of the whole transaction, and of the persons concerned.

The young Gentleman, with a spirit which, every thing considered, is perhaps not to be disapproved, had thrown out much abuse against *Colonel Wilkes*, and either through fear of punishment, as our correspondent candidly intimates, or through a youthful warmth of disposition, and a desire of acquiring the reputation of resolution invents a conference which never passed, substituting *Colonel Wilkes*, in the place of *Doctor Brocklesby*, and adapting circumstances to that ingenious transformation.

The AUDITOR (whose connexions with all the great families in the kingdom give him an opportunity of coming at private anecdotes) heard a plain, simple, and unvarnished tale; but having been charged by us with want of invention, determined at once to prove the falseness of that charge and gratify his malice. The decorations of the story therefore we may with much reason place to his account. The original falsehood, which was the ground work of all, is perhaps the property of the noble youth; the many incoherent fictions which were raised upon it, are probably embellishments added by the AUDITOR for his own credit.

Colonel *Wilkes*, conscious of his own innocence, immediately took the alarm: he made a public declaration of his innocence; he called upon the AUDITOR, but in vain, to bring proofs of his assertion; he appealed to Sir *Francis Dashwood*, with relation to his behaviour to the Gentleman some months since; he called upon *Deſtor Brockleſby* to declare what he knew of it, who with all that honest readiness which became a man of honour, not only exculpated him, but gave a probable account of the rise of the fable; he even dared, which nothing but conscious innocence would have dared, to appeal to the bookseller who lived on the very spot, who was declared by the young Gentleman himself, to have been present during the conversation, and who in the strongest terms bore witness to the falsehood of the charge; and lastly he begged, which I think he had a right to insist on, to have a personal meeting, and to be brought face to face with his accuser. But this the prudent *Master* thought fit to refuse. It doth not appear indeed, either from Colonel *Wilkes's* letter to Dr. *Burton*, or from his answer, that any reasons were given for that refusal. I must however have too good an opinion of a gentleman, placed at the head of *Winchester* school, to think that he acted without reason; his very situation implies *understanding*, though we have *formerly* met with some instances where it did not include *integrity*. The
interest

interest of his school, as well as the honour of his pupil, seem to exact a very different behaviour from that which the Doctor pursued, and yet I cannot believe that a master of *Winchester* school could act without reason. I am afraid indeed, that in these considerations I have overlooked the most material point, and thinking only of public concerns have forgot that the Doctor had a private interest of his own, which, however I have a saving faith, the Doctor will never forget. He will ever distinguish between persons in, and out of power; between a Colonel engaged in the barren cause of Liberty almost alone, and a favourite with a troop of slavish courtiers at his heels, and bishoprics at his command. Motives of this kind prevented the clearing up this, as they have many other affairs of a like nature, and such considerations prevailed, for such only they could be, as interest might suggest, but honour would always despise.

NUMB. XXII. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30,
1762.

Verfus inopes rerum, nugæquæ canoræ. HOR.

Words void of sense, high wrought with trifling sounds.

AS our attention to the AUDITOR hath too often drawn us from our original design, and considerations of a public nature have been suspended for matters of private concern, we shall once more trespass on our political reader, though with much better reason, and introduce to his acquaintance those muses, whom modern bards have taught us to consider as strangers to every thing which passes in the world, as exiles from the cabinet,

cabinet, and fit only to wander in shady groves and flowery meads. The * gentleman to whom we are obliged for the following Poem, seems to think very differently; and as we know no one who is better acquainted with those ladies than himself, we shall certainly pay great respect to his judgment, especially when we have so good a proof of it, as that which we now present to the Public.

It hath always been customary, and never with greater reason than at present, to consider *the birth of a prince* as a national blessing, as a cement of love and duty betwixt the king and his people, and a pledge of their future happiness to succeeding ages. In consequence of this opinion we always find addressees flying on such occasions to the throne from every part of the nation, assurances of fidelity and protestations of joy are given in all the pomp of laboured language, and with all that awful form which such a solemnity requires. The common dull multitude are contented with humble prose, and satisfied if they speak so as to be understood, and to express the warmth and sincerity of their affection; but from our two universities, those seminaries of true virtue and sound learning, those bright and glorious luminaries of the literary world, something more is required, something of a sublimer nature, something which may shew their superiority over the vulgar herd, and for this end the muses are called in to consecrate their offerings.

On these occasions we have often seen, and not without great concern, whole pages together cold and fulsome; the dull mechanical part of *versmanship* indeed is found, but the spirit of true poetry is wanting, and, every thing considered, how should it be otherwise? In *one* of these seats of learning the muses are looked on with an evil eye, and in *both* persons are from situation compelled to write, who are chilled by
age,

* Robert Lloyd, Esq.

age, who either were never acquainted with poetry at all, or have for many years bid adieu to it. Hence, and for some other reasons, which our reader's penetration will naturally suggest to him, this poetical tribute is scarcely worth the acceptance of the prince, and reflects but little credit on that respectable body by whom it is presented. To remedy this is the design of the present Poem, in which the heads of colleges may learn once more the rules of verses, may see and rectify former mistakes, and make their next offering worthy the acceptance of that great personage whom they mean to congratulate.

In spite of some little severity which our poet shews in the following performance, we must think his observations generally just; but there is one thing, which he hath not taken notice of, undoubtedly calculated to give every lover of literature true pleasure. In these collections we often see the names of NOBLES affixed to particular copies, and from thence may rest assured either that they have not forgotten to write, or, if they have, are unwilling that the world should know it.

As a NORTH BRITON we cannot help observing the presumption of the poet, who has included our *Scottish* universities, and dared to prescribe rules to men who are fit to give law to the world, ignorantly considering our great seminaries as on a footing with those antiquated names, OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE. Our taste for poetry is well known, and such performances we could produce as would stagger credibility. We must caution our reader therefore to consider every thing in the following piece which is pointed against the *Scots*, as the effects of prejudice and poetical fiction; and to justify him in this opinion we shall hereafter, in a dearth of politics, present him with some compositions lately transmitted to us from that nation, which will shew them as far superior to the English in poetry, as in every other respect.

The POETRY PROFESSORS.

OLD ENGLAND has not lost her pray'r,
 And GEORGE the good has got an heir.
 A royal babe, a PRINCE of WALES.

----Poets! I pity all your nails----
 What reams of paper will be spoil'd!
 What *graduses* be daily foil'd
 By inky fingers, greasy thumbs,
 Hunting the word that never comes!

Now *Academics* pump their wits,
 And lash in vain their lazy *tits*;
 In vain they whip, and lash, and spur,
 The callous jades will never stir;
 Nor can they reach *Parnassus'* hill,
 Try every method which they will.
 Nay, shou'd the tits get on for once,
 Each rider is so *grave* a dunce,
 That, as I've heard good judges say,
 It's ten to one they'd lose their way.
 Tho' not one wit bestrides the back
 Of useful drudge, ycleped hack,
 But *fine bred things* of *mettled blood*,
 Pick'd from *Apollo's* royal *stud*,
Greek, Roman, nay *Arabian* steeds,
 Or those our mother country breeds;
 Some ride ye *in*, and ride ye *out*,
 And to come *home* go round *about*,
 Nor on the green sward, nor the road,
 And that I think they call an ODE.
 Some take the pleasant country air,
 And smack their whips and drive a pair,
 Each horse with bells which chink and chime,
 And so *they* march----and that is *rhime*.
 Some copy with prodigious skill
 The figures of a *buttery-bill*.

Which

Which with great folks of erudition
 Shall pass for *Coptic* or *Phœnician*.
 While some, as *patriot* love prevails,
 To compliment a Prince of *Wales*,
 Salute the royal babe in *Welsh*,
 And send forth *gutturals* like a belch.

What pretty things imagination
 Will fritter out in adulation!
 The *Pagan* gods shall visit earth
 To triumph in a *Christian's* birth.
 While *classic* poets, pure and chaste,
 Of *trim*, and *academic* TASTE,
 Shall lug them in by head and shoulders,
 To be or *speakers*, or *beholders*.
 MARS shall present him with a lance,
 To humble *Spain* and conquer *France*;
 The GRACES, buxome, blithe, and gay,
 Shall at his cradle *dance the Hay*,
 And VENUS, with her train of LOVES,
 Shall bring a thousand pair of *doves*,
 To bill, to coo, to whine, to squeak,
 Through all the *dialects* of *Greek*,
 How many *swains* of classic breed,
 Shall *deftly* tune their *oaten* reed,
 And bring their *Doric* nymph to town,
 To sing their measures *up* and *down*;
 In notes *alternate*, clear and sweet,
 Like *Ballad-fingers* in a street.
 While those who grasp at reputation,
 From *imitating* imitation,
 Shall hunt each cranny, nook, and creek,
 For *precious* fragments in the *Greek*,
 And *rob the spital*, and the *waste*
 For Sense, and Sentiment, and Taste.
 What Latin *bodge-podge*, Grecian *bash*,
 With Hebrew *roots*, and English *trash*,
 Shall academic cooks produce
 For present show, and future use!

FELLOWS! who've foak'd away their knowledge,
 In *sleepy* residence at College,
 Whose lives are like a stagnate pool,
 Muddy and placid, dull and cool;
 Mere drinking, eating; eating, drinking;
 With no impertinence of thinking;
 Who lack no farther erudition,
 Than just to *set* an imposition,
 To cramp, demolish, and dispirit,
 Each true begotten child of merit;
 Censors who in the day's broad light
 Punish the vice they act at night;
 Whose charity with self begins,
 Nor covers others *venial* sins;
 But that their feet may safely tread,
 Take up hypocrisy instead,
 As knowing that must always hide
 A multitude of sins beside,
 Whose rusty wit is at a stand,
 Without a *freshman* at their hand;
 (Whose service must of course create
 The just return of sev'n-fold hate)
 Lord! that such *good* and *useful* men
 Should ever turn to books agen?

Yet matters must be gravely plann'd
 And syllables on fingers scann'd,
 And racking pangs rend lab'ring head,
 Till Lady Muse is gone to bed:
 What hunting, changing, toiling, sweating,
 To bring the useful epithet in!

See No. XXVI.

NUMB. XXIII. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6,

1762.

Now call we our high court of Parliament,
 And let us chuse such limbs of noble counsel,
 That the great body of our State may go
 In equal rank with the best govern'd nation;
 That war, or peace, or both, at once may be
 As things acquainted or familiar to us.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE name of *Parliaments* is deservedly dear, and the meeting of them matter of reasonable joy to every true Englishman. The very mention of them recalls to our thoughts the noble ends for which they were established, and the various means by which, at different times and under different circumstances, our ancestors have happily obtained them. What glorious stands have they often made for liberty! How resolutely have they resisted, how successfully baffled, the daring attempts of arbitrary monsters! How often, and with what perseverance, have they pursued and brought to justice corrupt ministers, endeavouring in vain to screen themselves behind the throne! How ready, on the other hand, have we found them to support the dignity and prerogative of the crown in its due extent! How zealous to forward every good and national design! How unanimous in strengthening the hands of an upright administration! In the last point of view only we have had the happiness to consider them for some years. Blest with a King, who, born an *Englishman*, glories in the name, who considers the interests of his people as his own, who, possessed of their love, esteems it the brightest jewel in his crown, who approves himself the guardian and not the invader of their liberties, the rage of party hath been happily

happily extinguished, and the names by which factions were known are almost forgotten. Never did Monarch express greater satisfaction and confidence in his parliaments, and never had any Monarch greater reason for it. Notwithstanding the insinuations thrown out by some pestilent movers of sedition, I trust that in the ensuing, as in preceding Parliaments, we shall find the same good understanding and harmony, which alone has been the cause of our present happiness, and which alone can render it lasting. The very calling of a parliament is in itself a symptom of sanity in our state. It implies either that there are no just grounds of complaints, or that, if there are, the prince is ready to hear and to redress them, when that respectable body is assembled, who have an immediate right of laying their grievances before the throne.

As our affairs are now situated, when not only our present welfare, but our future prosperity, seems to turn upon a moment, when matters of the most interesting nature call for consideration, when business of the last consequence is to be done, and there is so little time to do it in, I will not, I cannot believe, that even that little shall be made less by the * *prorogation* of Parliament. Let the enemies of the administration pretend what they will, I must here be an infidel, I must consider it as one of those many lying reports which the sons of sedition industriously propagate, and with which they endeavour to embroil public affairs, merely to serve their private interests. What! on the eve of a peace, and of such a peace as must either establish or ruin us for ever, (for in our present situation, loaded as we are with an enormous debt, there appears no alternative,) shall the great council of the nation be postponed? True it is, that although they supply the sinews of the war, they have no right to make peace; but they have an undoubted right of examining into the peace when made;

The Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of *November*.

made, and it shall be found dishonourable and disadvantageous, a circumstance well deserving serious consideration at this time, they have an undoubted right also of calling the advisers of it to a severe account. If the peace be such as redounds to the advantage of this nation, no matter by whom it is made. *Scot* and *Englishman* in that respect are the same, and matters of less consequence may remain to be debated afterwards at leisure; but if it shall be inadequate to our great successes, unequal to those hopes which we have justly formed of securing and enlarging our commerce, of straitening the enemy in their marine, and depriving them of those nurseries of seamen, which alone have enabled them to carry on the war, then let the advisers of it turn back to past ages, and, from the examples of others, learn to tremble for themselves.

If we enquire into the cause of that dissatisfaction which at present prevails, and examine the grounds on which the opinion of our having a bad *peace* is founded, at a time when we have all the right in the world to expect the *peace* to be good, we shall find a distrust of the present ministry either as to abilities or integrity, or both, to be the real source of this discontent. The word *favourite* hath been artfully buzzed about to inflame our minds, which, without any comments on it, are apt enough to take fire even at the name. The ideas which an Englishman forms on the very mention of that word are such as inspire him with suspicion: he looks back to past times, he there sees the fatal consequences which have arisen, when private affection hath taken the lead of public considerations, and he immediately applies it to his own time. However clearly he may see the right of the sovereign to appoint his own servants, yet when they are appointed to such offices as are of a public nature, he cannot, nor indeed ought he to be easy, if he thinks they are unequal to the places which they fill, and that the nation may be injured by them. As no people ever suffered more by favourites, we are
the

the more excusable if we carry this point to excess, if our fears are sometimes quicker than reason warrants, and the event justifies; knowing how severely we have smarted from their lash formerly, we figure to our minds the same effects now. We are convinced of the truth of Shakespear's observation,

*That man that sits within a monarch's heart,
And ripens in the sunshine of his favour,
Would he abuse the count'nance of the king,
Alack, what mischiefs might he set abroad
In shadow of such greatness!*

Our apprehensions immediately take the alarm, we fancy ourselves ready to become woeful instances of the influence of a *favourite*; we see his power, and we infer his inclination to do evil. Nor are these fears lessened when we consider the object of them as of a different nation; for, notwithstanding the *Union*, the rigid friends of *Old England* have not yet taught themselves to consider the *Scots* as the same people, and to compliment them with their places and preferments with a good grace.

Another cause of distrust at this juncture is the influence of *Tories* turned courtiers. Whilst we could perceive the *Whigs*, those old and firm friends of the constitution and of the present family on the throne, standing in some degree of credit, and holding a share in the administration, we were tolerably easy in this respect; but now that the face of affairs is changed, and they seem to be in disgrace, on whom shall we rely? The *Duke of Devonshire*, descended from a family, whose actions have done honour to their rank, well known for constitutional principles, untainted with base considerations of interest, a stranger to factious zeal, of acknowledged understanding, integrity and moderation, was to every true lover of his country a rock on which he might with confidence repose his trust, and justice might declare that he never would take a part in any action which was
contrary

contrary to the interest of his country, or give the sanction of his name to countenance a corrupt administration. The security we are now deprived of, and him, whom we could with joy and confidence behold at the head of affairs, we see divested of all authority, but that which his own virtues will always give him. On whom then are we to depend? On those old enemies of liberty, those abettors of arbitrary power, those sworn foes of our constitution, the *Tories*? Forbid it, heaven! Consider them as bred up in the rudiments of treason, as continuing fast to the same tenets, even after they came to maturity, and were capable of judging for themselves, as holding their midnight assemblies, and secretly sacrificing at the altars of rebellion, as openly ridiculing the family on the throne, thwarting every measure taken for its establishment, and in the most perilous times sitting down inactive, and with their wishes assisting those who aimed at the ruin of the state, and whom they would no doubt have assisted in a more effectual manner, had not fear prevented. Are these men to be depended on? Shall we believe that they have changed their way of thinking? We may, when they can shew us any good and sufficient cause for such change; and point out the reasons by which they were convinced. Men of understanding quit not rooted opinions, which they have maturely weighed, examined, and approved, in which they have persisted and justified themselves many years, without some strong and very convincing reason, which brings truth home then in a manner not to be resisted. But what reason can they produce, which they had not before tried and rejected? Suspicion therefore, whether well or ill founded is not the question, will suggest to us either that they have not changed their opinion, and only pretend it, more easily to accomplish the worst of purposes, or that interest alone hath worked the change in them. If the first of these is the case, it is obvious how much they are to be feared; if the last, it is plain how little they are to be trusted.

Another, and indeed the strongest reason for distrust, is a rumour lately spread by the emissaries of the disaffected, and too readily received by the multitude, that the chief direction of affairs is to be given into the hands of that person whom every man of honour despises, and every lover of his country is bound to curse: a rumour which if considered properly, carries its own refutation along with it! Is it possible that we should forget the means by which we were brought to the brink of ruin, entirely owing to him? Is it possible that we should be ignorant how universally he is hated, distrusted, and despised? Can we forget his breaches of private faith, and his abuses of public trust? His very enemies allow him great abilities; but will his warmest friends say that he ever employed them to any good purpose? The greatness of his understanding serves only to make the badness of his heart more formidable, and to render our apprehensions of him more terrible. Can we then think so meanly of the present administration, as to imagine they will ever join with such a man, much less that they will act under his direction? Prejudice itself can never believe it of them; and I with much greater pleasure, and a fuller faith, receive the report, that the administration of affairs is to be lodged, where every true *Briton* would wish it, in the hands of MR. FOX.

NUMB. XXIV. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER
13, 1762.

Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.

VIRG.

Equal in song, and ready to reply.

DIALOGUE OF THE LIVING,
Between Earl BUCHANAN and Duke D'OSSUNA.

E. of B.

NOW, my Lord, the matter is thus-----Your apprehension is very lively, and you will immediately conceive the force of my sentiments-----The nation is in want of a *peace*, and a *peace* it shall have, if I have any influence; and your Grace, as I mentioned to you within, is the person appointed for this glorious work---Your Grace's parts, erudition, and extensive knowledge of the true constitution and interests of your country, clearly prove you the only person fit for so great a design---and for France, my Lord, more particularly, as your elegant address, the politeness of your manners, and your skill in---

D. of O. I did indeed once learn to dance, my Lord; but politics, gravity, state affairs, the government of kingdoms, and many other mighty matters, have, I am much afraid, destroyed that ease and sprightly facetiousness for which I once was---

E. of B. Still, my Lord, still publicly confessed the politest man in the kingdom: but let that pass---I detest flattery, and still will adhere to the honest sincerity of my country---Now to the point, my Lord---Your Grace is sensible that a *peace* is absolutely necessary---that it

must be had---had on any terms---that the land-tax in particular is abominably heavy, though, thank heaven, your *rebellious, whiggish* counties pay by far the greatest, and most burdensome part---the nation ruined---beggared---undone by her successes---France flourishing---very flourishing---quite inexhaustible---the king of Prussia no soldier---a Cossack---a marauder---poor---very poor---PITT no orator---no statesman---a fellow that presumes to be a patriot and---

D. of O. All these points are very clear, my Lord---I say it---You say it---*Dick* bullies *here*, and swears to it---What need of farther proof?---But this PITT and his damn'd faction raise such disturbances about the terms of peace, and use so many far-fetched arguments against giving up this, and giving up that---though we do not, yet those fellows in the city require reasons and proofs---But, my Lord, with your instructions I will undertake to---

E. of B. You shall have them, my Lord; and with them, what may you not undertake? You shall have them at full: I have committed them to paper for the instruction of future ages---If Lord Clarendon had not written, in what darkness had we now been! Posterity shall write our penegyric, though faction and mechanics, and low-lived wretches who live by trade decry us---You have heard of the sugar-islands, my Lord---Martinico, Guadaloupe---

D. of O. I was once a great master of geography, my Lord; but state affairs and politics, and the government of---The instructions at large, my Lord---

E. of B. We have, my Lord, in our Quixotism, conquered six or seven little islands, where they make sugar and rum and such stuff---One was conquered in my time---I am not to be blamed for it---I am not in fault---the turbulent pensioner concerted it, and I could not prevent it---He sign'd every single order about it---These islands are not worth one farthing, if we consider the real value of things---they increase our sugar-trade; that

that is granted: but sugar is a promoter of diseases and luxury---it makes many of these citizens rich and assume airs of consequence; the greatest of evils! ---The great Dr. *Farquharson* is now writing a folio to prove it the source of all disorders; gout, stone, phthisic, sciatica, cholera, hot, cold, wet, and dry disorders---it is the strangest, the vilest of all compositions, filled with all the noxious particles of all the elements, and only capable of giving inspiration to a *Creolian Lord Mayor*---The sugar-cane is a paltry plant---Dr. *Hill* only recommends the great virtues of the *sugar-stick* itself, to be drawn out by inward suction, and, I own, so far nothing in this island can equal that plant, but the *Carduus Augustæ benedictus*. Let us therefore give up all the sugar islands to the French; they will grow enervated, and full of all those contradictory, hard-named disorders, so that our posterity will be able to kick them through the world, if they should ever wink at us.

D. of O. Time flies very fast, and the mighty French peer, my Lord---

E. of B. I understand you, my Lord---the rest of the instructions---Now for Canada, a miserable, wretched country; we must keep it; we must sometimes gratify the mobile: they get furs there, my Lord---To use furs for warmth is surely a scandalous invention! In *Scotland*, my Lord, we have hardly such a thing: if any lady there be so nice as to require artificial warmth, we have cats and dogs for the purpose. Thus we encourage our native manufactures; and the delicious roughness of those animals skins promotes that friction which---But such delicacy is rarely found in our hardy, naked-thighed country---Let us avert this plague---They shall have *Lousiana*, a noble country! they shall cheat Canada of its fur trade; and thus, without drawing on ourselves the least odium, we shall defeat the malice of our enemies, banish this unnatural effeminacy from our nation, and throw it with double weight,

in conjunction with pernicious sugar, on the constitutions of our enemies.

D. of O. But surely, my Lord, humanity should prevent---

E. of B. They *shall* have them, and they shall be crippled with the gout and a legion of other disorders. ---We have some provinces in North America inhabited by merchants, planters, and a thousand various species of mushrooms---they are rich---too rich---very rich---their trade promotes ours---they ruin their mother country---we abound in trade, we must clip it, my Lord: we must act like skilful gardeners, and prune the luxuriances---We shall cure this evil also; we shall leave the French at their back; they will leave them no time to plod on in the inglorious road of riches. Besides, between you and me, the seat of empire may be transferred, if they grow too powerful, and America give laws to the universe---That shall not happen while I am at the helm, if the French incendiaries in their rear are of any effect. It is a great rule in politics, that colonies and dependent countries should be kept poor; not to raise their heads, or wag their tongues, lest they should spit at their mother country.

D. of O. I am convinced of the justness of such politics: your lordship well knows that was the foundation of my conduct in Ireland, by which I acquired so much glory.

E. of B. As the first of viceroys, my dear Lord---Chesterfield was beloved; that is nothing;---you were revered and dreaded. Awe and fear are the real marks of esteem---Our conquests in the East Indies signify not a bawbee; spice, china, arrack, and all their other commodities are worse than nothing; pimps to luxury, and nourishers of wickedness. The East India company indeed may cry out: let them cry out; they are haughty merchants, and too rich already---We will give them all up---Saltpetre is the chief ingredient in gunpowder, gunpowder is used in war, we hate war, therefore

therefore we must hate the trade that furnishes us with it; and that trade is the *East India* trade, and therefore we must---

D. of O. My Lord, the time---

E. of B. As I was saying---indeed, my Lord, you have spoiled my argument: quite spoiled the connexion---I have been at it all this morning---It is called a Soritees, my Lord, and requires infinite clearness to deduce such a long chain of---

D. of O. The instructions, as you say, my Lord, are pretty long; but I shall remember them---We are poor---ruined---beggared---Sugar is---

E. of B. I have not been deceived in my choice. Your Grace is endued with great quickness of penetration---But to recapitulate all---We are ruined and undone; our trade is too great, and our merchants too rich: these may seem contradictory to the vulgar, my Lord, but you see clearly the logical distinction. We want peace---we must have it---The French are inexhaustible---they will destroy us intirely---we shall perish like Pyrrhus or Gaston de Foix---We are tormented by factions---half the subjects of this part of the kingdom are traitors---we nourish a brood of vipers in our own bosom---Our colonies are too flourishing---trade in too great an extent has been our ruin---The Benedictines must have their fish; aye, and so must the Bernardines---The French must prick the quakers of Pensylvania in the backside; they must, and others too, to banish riches and indolence---Sugar, furs, china, arrack, salt-petre, shall be banished from my commonwealth: I will imitate Plato in this as in other things---These are the arguments for our peace, and yet, clear as they are, these cockneys will presume to controvert and examine them---O, that I must be doomed to watch over the caprices of furriers, sugar-boilers, cod-merchants, planters, rum-distillers, freighters, importers, and haughty *East India* directors!

D. of O. I am persuaded, my Lord, when they hear these arguments so clearly stated, not one of them will murmur---They know their own interests, and must be convinced how safe they will be in your hands---

E. of B. My Lord, you revive me---I began to have a little fit of the spleen, and to think of some unlucky consequences which may attend---But, my Lord Duke, they are not blind---they must, as you say, see their own interests---When this hurry is over, how happy shall we be in recapitulating these matters---I once had a design---and still will pursue---*Grotius* was a foreign fellow, who wrote about war and peace---Shall we not join, my Lord---After your return, when this negotiation shall prove to the world our political talents, shall we not sit down and confute the blockhead?---Our *De Jure belli & pacis* shall live for ages, and be the test of true policy for our posterity.

D. of O. Your Lordship may expect my assistance in every thing---*Grotius* is an ignorant puppy---one of the king of Prussia's privy counsellors, or some of his dirty hackney-writers, I presume---It is a nation of ignorance!

E. of B. My Lord, it is time to depart---The *family compact* is nothing to us---Three or four gentlemen of the first quality in Europe, and near relations, take it into their heads to be also very strict friends---Nothing to us---As to the little trifling spots of the globe, Senegal, Minorca, Goree, Belleisle, &c. we may keep some of them, it signifies not which---the rest are intirely at your service to dispose of---Remember, my Lord, trade the bane of our nation!

D. of O. I shall remember, my Lord---We shall not be overburdened---Your Lordship's most humble servant.

NUMB. XXV. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20,
1762.

M. CATONIS splendorem maculare voluerunt, ignari quid gravitas, quid integritas, quid magnitudo animi, quid denique virtus valeret; quæ in tempestate sæva quieta est, et lucet in tenebris, et pulsa loco manet tamen, atque hæret in patria, splendetque per se semper, neque alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit. CICERO.

They wanted to sully the virtue of M. CATO, ignorant how much gravity, how much integrity, how much greatness of soul, how much, in short, virtue avails, which amidst the raging storm is tranquil, and gives light in the dark, and though forced from its place, still remains firm, and adheres closely to its country, and shines always of itself, nor is ever polluted with the dirt of others.

ENVY and *calumny* have in every age been the attendants on superior *virtue*. The world has at all times been cursed with some evil and malignant spirits, who, instead of being fired with noble emulation at the great actions even of their own countrymen, have repined at their glories, and *wept* in the midst of the grateful acclamations of a whole people. The hero of *Milton* shed such *tears of virtue* at the view of the happy state of our first parents. Their next step is an attempt to ruin the prosperity, which they envy; or effectually to destroy all the noble fruits which would have accrued from any divine successes in which they had no share. In some instances, which could be mentioned from *former* periods of the *English* history, every mean art has been employed, and every dishonourable and reproachful method made use of, not only to disgrace and ruin the nation at that time, but to prevent posterity from blessing the memory of a great patriot, who

who wished to have entailed on his country dignity, wealth, and empire. I am sure the *sagacious* reader will immediately apprehend that I must mean to allude to the great Duke of *Marlborough*, and the four last years of queen *Anne*, when the faction of the *Tories* patched up the infamous, and, in the stile of that time, the *felonious* peace of *Utrecht*, (so *inadequate* to the successes of *that* war) the mischiefs of which we have ever since most severely felt. Almost every thing won from the *French* by the wisdom or valour of a *Whig* administration, these vipers, bred and nourished in the bosom of our country, sacrificed to *France* from a lust of power, and the interested views of their faction, ever propitious and favourable to the designs of the *antient enemy of this kingdom*.

In great souls the virtuous deeds even of a rival or an enemy have kindled the same noble flame. After *Miltiades* had gained the battle of *Marathon*, *Themistocles* gave up all the dissipated pleasures of an irregular youth, and applied himself solely to public affairs, declaring *that he could not sleep for the trophies of Miltiades*. To this generous emulation in the career of glory his country was indebted for the important victory at *Salamis*, and in consequence for the preservation of the liberties of all *Greece*.

In little, narrow, selfish minds, the effect is directly opposite. Instead of covering himself with fair laurels, won in the cause of virtue, the vulgar wretch will endeavour to blast or steal others, which a generous mind would think almost equal to sacrilege. The conquest of *Martinique* was undoubtedly the honest fame and just applause of the late ministry; yet some of the present hackney hirelings (though so often convicted by the stubborn evidence of facts and dates) are still ascribing the whole merit of that conquest to the *Scottish* idol whom they worship, though it is known that not a single order relative to that noble plan issued from any one of the *Scottish* faction. The *Havannah* likewise ought to have
been

been in our possession many months ago. If the advice in writing of the 18th of *September* had been followed, not only a victorious wreath from *Spain* had decorated a sacred brow already adorned with *French* laurels, but what is of infinitely greater importance, the lives of many brave *Englishmen* had been saved to their families and their country. The real matter of the present quarrel with *Spain* subsisted in as full force in *September* as in *January*. Is not every man of sense in this kingdom convinced, that the present administration were indeed very short-sighted, and at last plunged the nation into a *Spanish* war for a trifling *verbal dispute*, almost entirely overlooking all the great matter of the most direct hostile tendency? The event of this war has been most fortunate, most glorious to *England*, and every circumstance concurred to give us victory. The enemy we had the most reason to dread, the *season*, proved favourable beyond what the annals of the western world can tell: yet when we recollect that there were only 2500 men of all the *British* troops left capable of real service at the surrender of the *Havannah*, as appears from the returns, we must congratulate ourselves on our amazing good fortune, no less than on the valour and intripidity of the best troops, which were ever collected and formed in the *American* world.

One great source of *calumny* against the late minister has been the prosecution of the war in *Germany*. This objection is made to consist of two parts. The one respects the enormous expence of this war, in the manner it has been carried on; the other the fitness of engaging at all in *that* war. As to the first, I will only say that the money department was not that of the late minister, nor did he ever interfere in it. If the *German* contractors have defrauded this nation of the immense sums they are charged with, let those whose particular province it was to have examined and checked their accounts, bear the blame. Undoubtedly it does not fall within the province of the secretary of state for the southern,

southern department. As to the fitness of the measure, I will not now discuss that question. I shall only observe, that the first treaty with the king of *Prussia* was signed by Mr. *Fox*, who was then secretary of state, on the 16th of *January* 1756, and was gloried in as the happy consequence of the *Russian* and *Hesse-Cassel* treaties. Every measure since that time, respecting the war in *Germany*, has been taken in full concert with all the administration, and in particular with Lord *BUTE*; yet when this part of the war came to be thought unpopular, the odium of that measure was entirely thro' on Mr. *PITT*. I shall not forget with what wonderful eloquence the most intimate friends of Lord *BUTE* harangued on this *single* topic at their private dinners, though only one * gentleman faintly opposed it in Parliament; and there in a manner rather calculated to save a very particular character, than to give mankind the highest ideas of his zeal for the public. How big with expectation was the committee of supply in the *last* Parliament, on the motion for 670,000*l.* to the king of *Prussia*, when Mr. *JOB CHARLTON* in his *spirited* and *shrewd* way called upon Sir *GEORGE LEE*, who had risen indeed, not *there* to oppose the motion, but to go out of the house? A roar of laughter ensued, but no opposition was made to that motion. The confidence of mankind in *that* ministry was so great, that the largest sums ever granted by Parliament passed in a whisper between a gentleman of the Treasury and the *chairman*. The victory of *Rosbach* had demonstrated the zeal and firmness of the king of *Prussia* to the common cause against our most inveterate enemies, the *French*, and had endeared him to every true *Englishman*. He was no less the favourite of the prince than of the parliament and people, and *Leicester-house* was known, equally with *St. James's*, to approve every measure relative to the *German*.

* Sir *Francis Dashwood* every session gave us the same beautiful annual flowers on the *Prussian* treaties.

German war, for there had been the fullest participation, and approbation of all the counsels respecting that important point. Since the accession of our present most gracious Sovereign, it does not appear that there has been any change in the *German* system. I rather fear that the nation will believe the present ministry is more *germanized* than any this country has ever had; because their greatest efforts have been made, and their real strength pointed, to save *Hanover* and *Hesse*, in which they have succeeded, but for want of timely and adequate succours have lost almost all *Portugal*, an object of infinitely greater importance to this *commercial* kingdom. We have now for more than two years been happy under his Majesty's mild and gracious government, but the *German war* has gone on just as it did in the reign of his grandfather; and I appeal to the world, whether any event, but that of *Peace*, was likely to bring the *British* troops back to their own country. The noble lords who moved and supported that question the last winter in the upper house, found that they made their court very ill, some of them smarted for the attempt, and all opposition to that measure was soon laid aside.

ANOTHER copious source of *calumny* on Mr. PITT has been the pretended desertion of the Public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged after the great part Mr. PITT acted through the last session of Parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country, and its firm ally, the king of *Portugal*, invaded, contrary to the *law of nations*, solely from his attachment to *England*? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the least spark of faction? On the contrary, was not his manly eloquence exerted to strengthen the hands of government, to give resolution and spirit to a feeble and irresolute administration and to endeavour to save *Portugal*, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by the most efficacious and adequate assistance of every kind?

kind? His zeal for the Public, his firmness, spirit, and moderation, were no less admired, than the solid wisdom, deep policy, and heroic magnanimity of his counsels. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul under all the provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping that through the next most important session the Public will reap the benefit of the clearest head and of the most upright heart. If this *just* and *glorious* war should be terminated by an *equitable* and *glorious* Peace, as we have reason to expect from his Majesty's most gracious answer to the last address of the *City of London*, I am sure that measure will derive the firmest support from Mr. PITT. If the *Peace* to be made should be *inglorious*, *inadequate* to the wonderful successes of his wise counsels, *disgraceful* to *England*, and *dishonourable to her allies*; if neither *security* nor *permanency* should appear to be the great objects of it, but the seeds of future wars should be sown for ourselves, and our posterity, then I hope that Mr. PITT will stand forth, pour all his vengeance, and point all his thunders against these foes of his country, and bring them to condign punishment. There is not, I am satisfied, if such a case should exist, any power able to screen such *evil counsellors* from the resentment of a *brave* and *injured* nation, who would then be exasperated that their most important conquests, the purchase of so much blood and treasure, were given up to their *ancient* and *perfidious* enemy.

The last topic of abuse I shall now mention is, the late minister's dictating to and magisterially controlling all the other servants of the crown and all public offices. I never heard any proof offered of this, but the single word *guide* in the letter to a friend. It is not even pretended that he ever imposed any one *creature* or *dependant* on the board of *Treasury*, *Admiralty*, &c. or paid any low sycophant by places in the *Excise* or *Customs*. The proof rests singly on his own expression in a letter, *no longer allowed to guide*; yet in that passage

it is confined to the * *measures to be taken against SPAIN, of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests.* Spain is in the department of the *Southern Secretary*, and every dispatch to the court of *Madrid* must, if he had continued in that office, have been drawn up and signed by Mr. PITT, in direct opposition to what he even at that time clearly saw was the *honour of the crown, and the interest of the nation.* He therefore appears to have been under a necessity of resigning the Seals. There is indeed in the *Letters versified* a fine, florid harrangue of the *president of the council* against Mr. PITT, which would fully prove this charge: but unluckily Lord GRANVILLE has several times declared that the whole speech is pure invention, and destitute of all semblance of truth. Now I have mentioned the *Letters versified*, I will just take notice that the author of that pamphlet began the personalities of the present paper war, and invented the most shameful falsehoods, to which he dared to set some of the most respectable names of this kingdom. I now speak only of the personalities of the present paper war.

Personalities of a different kind took their rise from another quarter. Mr. LEGGE, the most accomplished *Financier* in *Europe*, was dismissed (for he would not resign) solely from a personal pique of the present minister. He refused to pay a mean and servile court where it was expected, and could never be brought to lend himself to forward the ruin of *liberty* and *Whiggism*, or to subject a great † *English* county to a *Tory* and a *Stuart*. Every man of common understanding, even so early, very clearly saw what the friends of liberty were to expect, when the *talons* were fully grown.

* These are the words of the Letter.

† This alludes to a mean and dirty transaction of Lord *Bute's*, in favour of Sir *Simeon Stuart*, now one of the members for *Hampshire*.

The event has abundantly justified those fears; but I hope the most cordial *Whiggish* union and harmony will now prevail among all the friends of their country. It is, under so many repeated mortifications, the sincerest consolation to every *Englishman*, that there is now scarcely a party among the natives of this kingdom, almost every man in his station imitating the illustrious examples of the *Duke of Devonshire*, *Marquis of Rockingham*, and many other the true, free nobles of this *envied* but *insulted* country.

NUMB. XXVI. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER

27, 1762.

Corvos poëtas, et poëtrias picas,
Cantare credas Pegaseium melos.

PERSIUS.

Poetic crows, poetic daws,
As poets sing, and give us laws.

AS the season is now approaching, when the learned *universities* are to offer up their *sacrifice of thanksgiving*, and pay their poetical tribute to the throne, we shall, for their benefit, present the public with the remainder of that poem, the beginning of which was so favourably received some time since. We have long lamented, and, in all probability, shall have fresh cause of lamenting, the wretched figure those ingenious societies make in poetry. That the muses should droop at *Cambridge*, where they are *despised*, where they have not even a PROFESSOR to keep them in countenance, and where every method has been *illiberally* taken to drive them into banishment, cannot be matter of surprize; but, that *OXFORD* should fall so very short in this

this respect, justly creates astonishment. There, the polite arts meet with that encouragement they deserve, and the muses are treated with particular civility. The truly ingenious Mr. WARTON hath repeatedly set an example; which, if it had been followed, this poem would have been wholly unnecessary. But, since that gentleman hath in vain pointed out, by his *own* writings, in what manner *they* ought to write to merit praise, the design of these lines (and I hope they will meet with better success) is to point out a remedy for their faults, by which, at least, they may escape censure.

In the present critical situation of affairs, which so loudly calls upon us to adhere to our original intention, we should not have deviated in this manner, but from an unexpected disappointment, arising from the fears of a printer, who trembled at the thoughts of imprisonment, and smarted under a severe, *private* reprimand. The like disappointments we have prevented for the future, and the public may rest assured, that whilst the *North Briton* is actuated with affection and fidelity to his KING, with love for his country, and is directed by those principles which naturally fall in with our excellent constitution, he will never tamely give up the glorious cause in which he is engaged; he will never be drawn away by the arts of a subtle man, nor intimidated by the menaces of a wicked minister; he will always be ready to stand forth for his king and country; and, according to the old *English* plan of liberty, will praise or censure any minister, according to their behaviour; nor shall the examples of any brother-writers prevail with him to desert the PUBLIC, whilst he hath any right to suppose he can be serviceable to it.

THE POETRY PROFESSORS.

See Numb. XXII.

W Here the cramp measure kindly shews,
 It *will* be *verse*, but *should* be prose;
 So, when 'tis neither light or dark,
 To 'prentice spruce, or lawyer's clerk,
 The nymph who takes her nightly stand
 At some sly corner in the Strand,
 Plump in the chest, tight in the boddice,
 Seems to the eye a perfect goddess;
 But canvass'd more minutely o'er,
 Turns out an old, stale, batter'd whore.

Yet must these sons of GOWNED EASE,
 Proud of the plumage of *Degrees*,
 Forsake their APATHY awhile,
 To figure in the *Roman* stile,
 And offer incense at the shrine
 Of LATIN POETRY *Divine*.

Upon the throne the goddess sits,
 Surrounded by her *bulky* wits;
 FABRICIUS, COOPER, CALEPINE,
 AINSWORTHUS, FABER, CONSTANTINE;
 And he, who like DODONA spoke,
 DE SACRA QUERCU, HOLYOAKE;
 These are her counsellors of State,
 Men of much words, and wits of *weight*:
 Here GRADUS, full of *phrases* clever,
 Lord of her *Treasury* for ever,
 With liberal hand his bounty deals;
 SIR CENTO KEEPER of the *Seals*.
 Next to the person of the Queen,
 Old Madam PROSODY is seen;
 Talking incessant, altho' dumb,
 Upon her fingers to her thumb.

And

And all around are portraits hung,
 Of Heroes in the *Latin* Tongue;
Italian, English, German, French,
 Who most laboriously entrench
 In deep parade of Language *dead,*
 What would not in their *own* be read,
 Without impeachment of that TASTE,
 Which LATIN IDIOM turns to *chaste.*
 SANTOLIUS here, whose flippant Joke
 Sought refuge in a *Roman* Cloke:
 With dull COMMIRIUS at his side,
 In all the pomp of Jesuit pride.
 MENAGE, the pedant figur'd there,
 A Trifler with a solemn air:
 And there in loose, unseemly view,
 The graceless, easy LOVELING *too.*

'Tis here grave Poets urge their claim,
 For some thin blast of tiny fame;
 Here bind their temples drunk with praise,
 With half a sprig of *wither'd* Bays.

O Poet, if that honour'd Name
 Befits such idle childish Aim;
 If VIRGIL ask thy sacred care,
 If HORACE charm thee, oh forbear
 To spoil with sacrilegious hand,
 The glories of the CLASSIC Land.
 Nor sow thy *dowls* on the SATTIN
 Of *their* pure uncorrupted Latin.
 Better be native in thy verse---
 What is *Fingal* but genuine *Erse*?
 Which all sublime sonorous flows,
 Like HERVEY's Thoughts in drunken Prose.

Hail! SCOTLAND, hail! to thee belong
 All pow'rs, but most the pow'rs of Song;
 Whether the rude unpolish'd *Erse*,
 Stalk in the buckram *Prose* or *Verse*,
 Or bonny RAMSAY please the *mo'*,
 Who *sang* so sweetly *at* his woe.

If ought, and say who knows so well,
 The second-sighted Muse can tell,
 Thy happy LAIRDS shall laugh and sing,
 When ENGLAND'S GENIUS droops his wing,
 So shall thy foil new wealth disclose,
 So thy own THISTLE choak the ROSE.

But what comes here? Methinks I see
 A *walking* University.

See how they press to cross the TWEED,
 And strain their limbs with eager speed!
 While SCOTLAND from her *fertile* shore,
 Cries, On my Sons, return no more.
 Hither they haste with willing mind,
 Nor cast one *longing* look behind;
 On *ten-toe* Carriage to salute,
 The King, and Queen, and EARL of BUTE.

No more the gallant *Northern* Sons
 Spout forth their strings of *Latin* puns;
 Nor *course* all Languages to frame,
 The Quibble suited to their name:
 As when their Ancestors *be-vers'd*,
 That *glorious* STUART, JAMES the FIRST.
 But with that Elocution's GRACE,
 That oriental flashy *Lace*,
 Which the fam'd *Irish* TOMMY PUFF,
 Would sow on sentimental *Stuff*;
 Twang with a sweet pronunciation,
 The flow'rs of bold Imagination.
 MACPHERSON leads the flaming Van,
 LAIRD of the *new* Fingalian Clan;
 While JACKY HOME brings up the rear,
 With new-got pension, neat and clear,
 Three hundred *English* pounds a year.
 While sister PEG, our *ancient* Friend,
 Sends MAC's and DONALD's without end;
 To GEORGE awhile they tune their lays,
 Then all their choral voices raise,

To heap their panegyric wit on
Th' illustrious chief, and our NORTH BRITON.

Hail to the Thane, whose *patriot* skill,
Can break all nations to his Will;
Master of Sciences and Arts,
MÆCENAS to all Men of Parts;
Whose fost'ring hand and ready Wit,
Shall find *us* all in places fit;
So shall thy friends no longer roam,
But change to meet a settled Home.
Hail mighty THANE, for SCOTLAND born,
To fill her almost empty Horn:
Hail to thy ancient glorious *Stem*,
NOT THEY *from Kings*, BUT KINGS *from THEM*.

T H E D R E A M.

WHEN *favourites* their parties make
To play the royal game of goose,
Though *they* should answer each mistake,
Their master hardly 'scapes abuse;
And those who hold unworthy honour,
Though grac'd themselves, disgrace the donor.

A mile or rather more from town,
There liv'd a 'Squire of peerless rank;
Tir'd of my walk, I laid me down,
And fell asleep upon a bank.
It would a crime in fancy seem,
If poets slept without a dream.

A lilly held the regal pow'r,
(*Good folks*, I've had a precious dance
To find the same Imperial flower,
You see it in the arms of *France*.)
This *Fleur-de-lys* was brave and young,
The darling theme of every tongue.

When (*from I know not what affection*)
 The *Thistle* grew in favour great,
 Had the king's ear, and whole direction
 Of all the officers of state.
 Fir'd with the fame of his renown,
Brier and *bramble* came to town.

And at the court on public days,
 'Twas difficult to get along,
 So doubly lin'd were all the ways,
 With this same *scrubby, prickly* throng,
 FAMINE, you know, with hollow eye,
 Can't bear that PLENTY should be by.

And our new minister of state,
 Resolv'd to triumph o'er his foes :
 The *Thorn* and he were wond'rous great,
 But he could not abide the *Rose*.
 Pleas'd with the new-got toy of pow'r,
 He turn'd out this, and t'other flower.

Banish'd the *Laurel* with disgrace,
 And what made many people sport,
 To fill the *Laurel's* vacant place,
 Came broad-leaf'd cousin *Dock* to court,
 BARDANA then with faunt'ring pace
 Came simp'ring up to thank his GRACE.

When a damn'd fly upon my nose,
 Which surely ow'd me no good-will,
 Wak'd me at once, and as I rose,
 Whom should I see but DOCTOR HILL.

NUMB. XXVII. SATURDAY, DECEMBER

4, 1762.

Cereus in vitium flecti, MONITORIBUS asper.

HORACE.

Waxen to Vice, to ADMONITION rough.

ALMOST every man I meet looks strangely on me---some industriously avoid me---others pass me silent---stare---and shake their heads.---Those few, those very few, who are not afraid to take a lover of his country by the hand, congratulate me on my being alive and at liberty---They advise circumspection---for, they do not know---they cannot tell---but---the times---Liberty is precious---fines---imprisonment---pillory---not indeed that they themselves---but---then in truth---God only knows.---

My correspondents likewise, those who seemed most sanguine in the cause, who were the most ready to encourage and assist me in my undertaking, are tainted with suspicion and fear; and those letters which used to breathe the genuine spirit of *old English liberty*, are become insipid, tame, and languid. Caution hath got the better of every public virtue, and discretion is substituted in the place of true wisdom. Not content with thus basely flying from their colours themselves, they would tempt me to follow the infamous example; and as an inducement thereto, propose the consideration of my own safety. If, however, they expect their solicitations to have any weight, let them come forth from those fastnesses where fear hath entrenched them; let them no longer talk in the clouds, no longer satisfy themselves with general admonitions; but honestly

descend to particulars, and declare the cause on which those admonitions are grounded. Let them point out, if they can, and if they dare, from whom, and on what account, I am in danger, before they produce it as a motive to effect my conduct; and plainly shall they prove that I have deserved punishment, before they shall oppress me with the fear of it. The laws, I am certain, are of no party; nor will I harbour one moment's doubt of those who are appointed to put them in force. *Fear* is the proper companion of *guilt* only; and I have not yet learned to call a sincere and uniform love of my King, and my Country, by that name.

This humour of suspicion seems to have taken its rise from the confinement of some persons concerned in the *Monitor*; but how doth that affect the *North Briton*? In our opinions, perhaps, we may agree; in our mode of communicating them, we certainly differ; and with relation to consequences, stand wholly unconnected. Some writers in the *Monitor* have been taken into custody; and, for my own part, whatever may be the language of popular prejudice, I will suppose on substantial grounds. On a careful perusal of those papers, indeed, I have found nothing within the gripe of the law, according to my humble apprehensions; but I have happily taught myself the useful lesson, that those who are superior to me in rank, must, of consequence, be superior in understanding also; and that a great man can see farther into a millstone than one of low degree. But, besides this grand article of *State Creeds*, circumstances all concur, and I make no doubt, but the event will join, to justify the apprehensions of those gentlemen. The liberty of the press, that bulwark of the liberties of the people, is so deservedly esteemed, that every attack made on it is productive of danger. Punishments inflicted even on the licentiousness of it are unpopular, and have been attended with disagreeable consequences. It cannot then be imagined by any candid man, that at this juncture any step should be taken,

taken, which might be deemed a wanton, vexatious, and oppressive infringement of that glorious privilege. The particulars of that procedure have not, indeed, transpired; but, till the contrary appears, it is a justice we owe to every administration, to suppose they have some reason for what they do. To take any man into custody, and deprive him of his liberty, without having some seeming foundation at least, on which to justify such a step, is inconsistent with wisdom and sound policy. If, upon examination, (which, surely, the common feelings of humanity would suggest ought to be as speedy as possible) that foundation proves weak, then to detain those persons, or to oblige them to give in bail, in order to obtain a discharge, which, under such circumstances, they have a right to in the most free and absolute manner, is inconsistent with justice; and from thence I conclude, proceeding on the well-known wisdom and equity of the present administration, that we may now believe, and shall hereafter be convinced, that this step was warranted by weighty and sufficient reasons.

The abettors of faction, who, to promote their seditious designs, and sow discontent amongst the people, will say any thing, have undertaken to relate the particulars of this affair, and to account for some circumstances of it, though I suppose, no better informed than I myself am. They presume to point out the very papers complained of, and say (but *that* ----no----*that* we cannot believe) the complaint was carried back against papers, written some months before; and from thence they form arguments and draw inferences, the mighty absurdity of which is evident to the most common reader. For----thus they talk----if that paper is criminal now, it was criminal at the first moment of its publication. Why then not taken notice of before this time? Because---thus, you see, these curious politicians are question and answer both---because it would then have served no particular purpose----but
now,

now, at this important and critical juncture, it might be of excellent use to stop the mouths of those who imagine it possible to love their country, although they exclaim against the minister; and who really sigh for a good peace, yet might be inclined to represent the false *preliminaries* handed about, as most infamous and injurious to *England*.

These children of disaffection have dared likewise to insinuate, that there is no intention of prosecuting* this affair any farther; that bail was given in merely for a colour, and to save appearances; that some private conditions are settled (as now and then in more *public treaties* we have met with a secret article which has rendered all that was published of little or none effect) and that the terrors of a prosecution are to hang over their heads without being enforced. Shallow and impudent pretence! Will any minister lay himself thus open to censure? If there are no grounds of complaint, why were they obliged to give in bail? If there are, why should they not be brought to justice? To insist on bail, in the first instance, is an oppression of individuals: to drop the prosecution is, in the last instance, a desertion of the public: nor can I well discern, however different they are in degree, where, as to complexion, the compromising a misdemeanor differs from compounding a felony.

As little credit ought these malevolent spirits to meet with when they suggest, that passages to be found in history, and fairly quoted word for word, with considerations on the supposed *preliminaries*, and general thoughts on the *peace*, were the ground-work of this complaint.

Passages of history, of what nature soever, communicated to the public, without any parallel drawn, without any comment or application made, can never be
proper

* No prosecution was carried on, and all recognizances are now actually discharged.

proper objects of the law. Should this ever be the case, we must be cautious how we quote scripture in our sermons, lest our churches be turned into gaols, and our pulpits into pillories. It may be dangerous to talk of the differences between the children of *Israel* and *Judab*; and to say, that the former had ten parts in the *king* (when the latter had but two) and therefore ought to have been consulted, may be ingeniously construed into whatever crime misinterpreters shall think fit. Not he, who merely quotes an historical passage, but he who makes the application is the libeller. If ever the strong hand of authority should so far prevail over truth and reason, as to maintain the contrary, and establish a doctrine so novel and erroneous, we may then bid adieu to the liberty of the press.

Much less can we believe that to have considered the supposed *preliminaries*, and to have thrown out thoughts on the subject of *peace*, was made any part of a criminal charge. The *peace* deserves, and indeed demands, the serious consideration, for it is the near concern, of every individual. Where the right of making *peace*, and where the right of examining it, when made, is placed, we all know; but every man, surely, hath a right to have, and to give an opinion in an affair, where he himself is so materially interested. Should the *peace* be of such a nature, as to procure us those advantages we have a right to expect, and to provide every human method of securing them to us; where is the man who loves his country, that will not suspend all partial and narrow considerations to applaud those who were concerned in accomplishing it? But should it, which God forbid! prove of a different nature, and the seeds of a future war be left in it, where is the Englishman who shall be afraid to condemn it? For our own part, the reason we have not as yet entered upon that subject was, the uncertainty whether the *preliminaries*, as handed about, were true, and our hopes that they were not. For a full gratification in this point we have hitherto waited,

waited, and shall postpone our considerations on this head till that satisfaction can be obtained.

One thing, however, I cannot help observing, before I quit this subject, which is, the manner in which it is become fashionable to discourse on this head. Those who have little understanding, and those who have no integrity (no contemptible party for number and power) think that we ought to be satisfied, if the *peace* is much better than we could have expected at the commencement of the war. But this is nothing to the purpose. Our antient and perfidious enemy forced us into a *bloody and expensive* (and give me leave to add, however unfashionably, a *just and necessary*) *war*, for the maintenance of our rights, and the recovery of what they had deprived us of. From that moment all the expence arising from the war, becomes a part of the original demand on them; and whatever places we take, ought at least, and with the most moderate, to be considered as so many places held as a security for their fulfilling the engagements entered into, but never executed in former treaties; for their adjusting the differencies, on which the *war* was grounded in our favour, and for the repayment of those sums which we expended in bringing them to reason. But, in this case, I should venture to go one step farther, nor scruple to assert, that to have a *peace* adequate to our successes, we must see *preliminaries* very different from those handed about. All the places we have conquered are actually ours, and I cannot sufficiently admire the complaisance of the French, who are willing to cede, as they are pleased to call it, what is already in our possession, and what they have no prospect of recovering. *Canada* is at this instant as much ours as *Gibraltar*; and the rest of our conquests admit as little dispute. How far generosity may influence us, I cannot determine; but, I hope, we shall be just to ourselves, before we think of being generous to them. To what extent a prudential consideration of our own home situation ought to prevail, I shall hereafter

after examine; and shall only say at present, that how strictly adequate these supposed *preliminaries* are to our successes, will appear from the equality of what each party is to surrender to the other, as may be at one view seen by the following state of them.

Guadeloupe
Mariegalante

Desirade

Martinique

Right of fishing and curing on *Newfoundland*

St. Peter

Miquelon

Pondicherry, and all their settlements in the *East-Indies*

Goree

Belleisle

St. Lucia

MINORCA,

Three neutral islands o o o

NUMB. XXVIII. SATURDAY, DECEMBER

11, 1762.

Paris, November, 1762.

When the king signed the ratification of the *Preliminaries*, he said to those about him, that *he had never written his name with more pleasure.*

All the foreign GAZETTES.

IT is with the deepest concern, astonishment, and indignation, that the *Preliminary articles of Peace* have been received by the public. They are of such a nature,

ture, that they more resemble the ancient treaties of friendship and alliance between *France* and her *old, firm ally, Scotland*, than any which have ever subsisted between that power, and her *natural enemy, England*. The *Preliminaries*, which were communicated by a *Scotsman* to the *London Chronicle*, and published so early as the 9th of *November* in that paper, gave a general alarm: yet, those published *by authority*, are, in many respects, less adequate to what *England* has *now* a right to expect. I shall only instance in two points, respecting the important article of the *Newfoundland fishery*. In the genuine preliminaries the *French* are not *excluded from fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence*, as is asserted in the *London Chronicle*. On the contrary, Article 3 expressly says, *His BRITANNIC Majesty consents to leave to the Most CHRISTIAN King's subjects the liberty to fish in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition, that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence*: a grant, which, if they improve it, will turn out to be a grant of the whole fishery, unless our wise ministry will contrive to erect sea-marks, to be visible through the eternal fogs of those seas, and to have them guarded by the whole fleet of *England*. *Mr. Pitt* found himself so ill supported in the cabinet, and was so much over-ruled in some important points, that he did at length agree to leave this privilege to the *French*, for the sake of *peace* at that time; but the last year he declared in a great assembly, that he repented having done it, that it was worth while, even at the present great expence, to carry on the war another year, for the sake of preserving that fishery entire to *England*, and that if we made any future acquisitions of importance, he put in his claim, to be for an absolute exclusive right in this nation, and never would consent to admit the *French* to the smallest share of the *fishery*. The war has been carried

ried on another year; we have since conquered *Martique*, the *Havannah*, &c. we have recovered all *Hanover*, almost all *Hesse*, &c. our ally the king of *Prussia* is triumphant; yet the fishery is now in a worse state than it was by the former negotiation. That rock, *St. Peter*, only, for the fertile *Miquelon* was not included by the answer of England to the *Ultimatum* of France was ceded to France, on the express condition, that an English commissary shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander of the British squadron at Newfoundland, shall be at liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and the said port, to see that the stipulations above expressed, of no fortifications, no military establishment, &c. are punctually observed. The *London Chronicle* says, that *Miquelon* and *St. Peter's* are subject to the inspection of an English commissary, by the present preliminaries: but no such provision is to be found in them. The only security the present minister has taken is (in *Article 4.*) the French king's *Royal Word*, so often pledged to this nation, and almost as often violated. I will just take notice that *Miquelon* seems to have been yielded to France merely from wantonness, or a ridiculous generosity: for in the *Memoire Historique* it is said, the cession of the isle of *St. Peter* was accepted on conditions more than burthensome: the union of *Miquelon* to *St. Peter*, was of the least consequence, and the duke de Choiseul even assured Mr. Stanley, that such a cession would not be insisted on.

According to the preliminaries, now published by authority, the cessions to be made to France were fairly stated in the last NORTH BRITON. The immense sacrifices we have made to the antient enemy of these kingdoms seem neither to have arisen from necessity, nor to be warranted by any rules of sound policy. Almost all the glorious advantages we had gained over our most restless and perfidious foe, our ministers have given away; and in consequence of this weakness, or of this treachery, the trade and commerce of France will soon be in a more flourishing state than in the most prosper-

rous

rous times since their monarchy began, and ours in the same proportion will decline. Their sugar islands are restored to them greatly improved, by all the arts of English cultivation, very soon to rival, perhaps, to ruin, our own colonies. We have indeed, planted, but they are to reap the harvest. The *French king*, by a stroke of his pen, has regained what all the power of that nation, and her allies, could never have recovered; and *England*, once more the dupe of a subtle negotiation, has consented to give up very nearly all her conquests, the purchase of such immense public treasure; and the blood of so many noble and brave families. Is it therefore at all surprizing, that, on this occasion, the most frantic symptoms of insolent joy and triumph have been remarked in *France*, and of grief and dejection in *England*? What right have we to expect that an indulgent Providence will again in so distinguished a manner stand forth our friend, when we have thus wantonly given away to the enemy of our religion and liberty, the fruits of all the signal blessings heaven has poured down upon us?

This nation has ever been renowned for the bravest warriors, *France* for the ablest negotiators. *Philip de Comines* observes, *b. 3. c. 8. Jamais ne se mena traité,* &c. *In all treaties between the French and English, the French have shewn more dexterity and subtilty than the English; and the English have a proverb, as they told me formerly, when I treated with them, that in almost all battles with the French, they have had the honour and victory, but in all treaties, the loss and damage.* And again, *b. 4. c. 9. Et sans point de doubt,* &c. *Without doubt the English are not so subtle as the French, for they go bluntly to work; but you must have patience, and never debate angrily with them.* In the great duke of *Mariborough* the two characters of a warrior and a negotiator shone forth with full lustre, and were united in the *Englishman*. He had often defeated the most renowned generals *France* could send into the field; and in 1709, he baffled all

the

the arts, and eluded the finesse of the two best negotiators *Lewis XIV.* could employ, *Rouillé* and *Torcy*.

In two great points particularly, the *French* have been superior to all the policed states of *Europe*. The one is the sowing divisions among the allies of a hostile confederacy; the other, a happy dexterity of making with infinite *secrecy*, politeness and address, the largest *private offers* to those, who have been in a situation and capacity of seconding their ambitious views.

The first was the case in the grand alliance at the beginning of this century. Lord *Walpole* says, *the superior genius of the duke of Marlborough made this principle a fundamental rule in all his conduct, and it constantly prevailed, and was attended with incredible success, as long as he remained at the head of the last grand alliance. He speaks of preserving a perfect harmony between all the contracting powers; and afterwards adds, the intrigues, and artifices of France had no more influence on the councils of the allies, than her arms had success in the military operations: the whole body seemed to be actuated by one soul, to such a degree, and with so good an effect, that a general peace, in all human appearance, as honourable, safe, and satisfactory to all the allies, would have been concluded, as the war had been conducted with unanimity and glory, but the humoursome and ungrateful carriage of one proud WOMAN, &c. p. 127.* We have experienced in our times something very similar to what is related of the beginning of the present century, though I do not know of any *woman's* having now in the least broke into the great political line. I mean to say, that of late, by the *superior genius* of *one man*, the war in the four quarters of the world has been successful beyond the examples of all former ages, and the most entire confidence has prevailed, both among our people at home, and our allies abroad. By the *evil genius* of another man, which has issued forth, *black as the whirlwinds of the north*, distrust and dissentions have arose, and the firmest bonds of union have split, and been dissolved, *We were, as all*

the world imagined, just entering on the ways that promised to lead to such a PEACE, as would have answered all the prayers of our religious KING, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the soldiers when (as was observed by the wise lord---bishop of St. Asaph in the preface to his four famous sermons) God, for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth with the new minister, to embitter all our present enjoyments, and to blast all our future hopes.

Upon the removal of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the *Dutch* and all the confederate powers of that war withdrew all confidence from *England*. On the resignation of Mr. *PIIT* the strongest assurances were given by Lord *Bute*, then secretary of state for the Northern department, to all the *German* allies, that the measures, respecting that part of the war, would be carried on *with redoubled vigour*; yet the world knows how little that declaration from him was believed, or trusted to. The *Preliminary articles* speak pretty plainly the sentiments of the new minister. It is stipulated that some of our allies are to have their countries *restored* to them: the *Elector of Hanover*, Landgrave of *Hesse*, Duke of *Brunswick*, and even the Count of *La Lippe Buckeburg*: though it is known at the moment of signing the *Preliminaries*, the *French* were scarcely in possession of ten villages, and not much above an hundred acres belonging to all those princes together; but the king of *Prussia's* dominions, *Cleves*, *Wesel*, *Gueldres*, &c. which they now fully possess, are only to be *evacuated*; perhaps for *Austrian* troops to enter the hour after the evacuation: the declaration likewise, signed the same day with the *Preliminaries*, gives the *French* court a full liberty of paying all their arrears to their allies, under which colour the largest pecuniary succours may be given to the house of *Austria*, and the 13th article may be entirely evaded. *England*, on the other hand, is tied up from affording any kind of assistance to her allies, while

while *France*, whose revenues are now diverted no other way, is put in a capacity to give as ample aids as she chuses. Is so palpable an evasion as this consistent with the good faith for which the crown of England has ever been celebrated? Or, is it possible not to have been observed? In that case, we may hope to see it rectified in the *definitive treaty*; and this, to be sure, is the only idea of submitting the *Preliminaries* to public view.

Another *French* mode of negotiating is by a *secret* and *private* application, in a way which *avarice* can seldom withstand, to those who have the power of carrying their views into execution. *D'Estades's* letters demonstrate in what manner *Lewis XIV.* recovered *Dunkirk*, the infamous sale of which *single town*, has fixed an indelible stain on the memory of *Clarendon*. *Sir Stephen Fox*, the father of the excellent *Paymaster* of our forces, and of our -----, was the person sent to *France* on this occasion, and he received the greatest part of the *five millions* of livres, the price of that atrocious villainy. What attempts were made on the Duke of *Marlborough*, I shall relate from a *private* letter of *Lewis XIV.* to *Torcy*: because that author is in such wonderful credit with my friend the AUDITOR, *Je ne doute pas que vous ne profitiez*, &c. "I do not in the least question but you
 " avail yourself of the opportunities you have of seeing
 " the Duke of *Marlborough*, to let him know, that I
 " have been informed of the steps he has taken to hin-
 " der the progress of the conferences of peace, and even
 " to break them off entirely; that I have been so much
 " the more surprized at it, as I had reason to believe,
 " from the assurances he had already given, that he was
 " willing to contribute to this end; that I should be
 " glad his conduct was such as to deserve THE REWARD
 " I HAVE PROMISED HIM; and in order that you may
 " be able to come to a clearer explanation, I am willing
 " you should give him a positive assurance, that I will
 " remit TWO MILLIONS of livres to him, if, by his good

“ offices, he can obtain one of the following conditions
“ for me.”

“ To preserve Naples and Sicily for the king my
“ grandson, or, at the utmost extremity to preserve
“ Naples only. I should make him the same gratifica-
“ tion were he to preserve Dunkirk under my obedience,
“ with its harbour and fortifications, without even Na-
“ ples or Sicily; the same for preserving Strasburg
“ only, excepting Fort Kehl, which I shall give up to
“ the Empire in the state it was in when restored to my
“ obedience; and also, without preserving Naples or
“ Sicily: but of all these different expedients, the ob-
“ taining Naples for my grandson, is that which I
“ should like the best.”

“ I should consent to extend this recompence to
“ THREE MILLIONS, if he obtained Naples for my
“ grandson, and at the same time I was permitted to
“ keep Dunkirk, with its fortifications and harbour.
“ If I should be obliged to relinquish the article of
“ Dunkirk, I should give him the same sum, could he
“ contrive so as to preserve Naples and Strasburg, in the
“ manner as above explained, and Landau, with its forti-
“ fications, by giving up Brisac; or even could I be al-
“ lowed to keep Strasburg and Dunkirk, both in their
“ present condition. In short, I am willing you should
“ offer the Duke of Marlborough FOUR MILLIONS, should
“ he enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for the king my
“ grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk, with its fortifica-
“ tions and harbour, and Strasburg and Landau, in
“ the manner above explained, or even the same sum,
“ were Sicily to be exempted out of this last article.”

Memoirs de Torcy, tom. 2. p. 237.

NUMB. XXIX. SATURDAY, DECEMBER
18, 1762.

O ACADEMIAM volaticam & sui similem, modo huc, modo illuc!
CICERO.

O volatile UNIVERSITY, and truly resembling itself, fluttering
now here, now there.

Mr. NORTH BRITON,

YOU politicians of the town are so totally engaged in the transactions of the great world, that I suppose, you will hardly think it worth while to take notice of any occurrences, however important, that happen amongst the obscure folks of the Country. Let me hope, however, for once, that the concerns of a private family, as they are considerable enough to have been the talk of two or three of our neighbouring counties, may find a place in your publication. They contain very ample instruction to all masters and mistresses not to be misled by the arts of crafty and intriguing servants; and as the nation itself is but a larger family, and the servants of that family are as apt to be corrupt as those of any other, my subject may, I think, in some sort be allowed to be of public use and application.

The family of the *Wiseacres* are of long standing in this county. It is agreed on all hands that they are, at least, as old as the days of king *Alfred*. About three months ago, the present lady *Wiseacre** lost her late husband. The poor gentleman was old and infirm; and as his death had been some time expected, the news of it was received, even by her ladyship herself, with very
M 3 little

* The university of *Oxford*, founded by king *Alfred*.

little signs of grief and emotion. After enquiring whether he had left her any thing by his Will, and being answered in the negative, she dropped all farther thought about him, and began to contrive how she might provide herself with another husband. This, you will allow, would have been a natural method of proceeding in a young widow; but must appear a little indecent in a woman of her ladyship's age and matron-like appearance. But such had always been the way with her. She had had more husbands than might have satisfied half the reasonable women in the neighbourhood. In short, she always made good use of her time; she never buried one, but, within three weeks or a month after his decease, she was married to another. There was something particular, likewise, in her method of conducting her choice on these occasions. She always referred the affair to the people of her family; and she made no scruple of taking to her bed whatever suitor had the majority of votes amongst them.

One of the first that was mentioned on the late occasion was lord *Sapling* *. He is a young nobleman of the best family in the country, and every way worthy of her ladyship's regard and affection. He had spent some years in the same house with her, when she seemed much pleased with his exemplary behaviour and very amiable disposition. He was a great favourite with many of the honest and disinterested part of her domestics; and her late husband was pleased to take particular notice of him, and once, in a very large company, and upon a very solemn occasion, protested that he had never seen a more hopeful young gentleman.

The next was lord *Safe* †. He is a very honest and worthy man, and withal a very prudent and wary one. He would have made a very good master of a family, especially in matters of œconomy.

But the person we are most concerned with, and whose character will require a more particular development,

* Lord *Suffolk*. † Lord *Foley*.

is captain *Giddy**. The captain was a sprightly fellow in his youth; and is remembered about twenty years ago, to have made a very good speech or two at some of your public meetings in London. From that time, however, the figure he hath made in the world hath not been much to his credit. The chief of his company, till within these two years, have been parsons and country 'squires. These used to lead him about to races, cock-matches, and country clubs, where he was apt sometimes to drink a little too freely. A course of life of this sort brought on a *swimming in his head*; so that he hath frequently been supposed not to be *sensible* where he was, or what he was about. Hence he hath been known in the late times of party violence, in the same sort of company, and within a few days of each other, to drink Exclusion to the house of *Hanover*, and confusion to all Jacobites.

But the matter which bore hardest upon the captain's character was the cruel treatment he was guilty of towards his former wife †. She was a very honest country gentlewoman, and had brought the captain for her fortune, a very large accession of command and interest in the county, which had been long vested in her family. Her right to it, however, was contested, soon after the marriage by a younger lady, a mere stranger; who by the contrivance of Mr. *Doubletongue*, the Referee, and the shuffling proceedings of some lawyers at *Westminster*, found means to carry her cause against Mrs. *Giddy*. The captain hereupon bounced, and swaged and swore; and vowed that, before seven years were over, (in which time he should have an opportunity of bringing the matter again to a trial) he would have *public satisfaction* for such flagrant and *public injustice*. It was found however, before that time came, that the captain, notwithstanding all his blustering, had been drawn into, or rather had himself projected a most shameful compromise with the adverse party; and had

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agreed

* Lord *Litchfield*. † The Old Interest, or Jacobitism.

agreed to divide the matter in dispute between them. To secure the execution of this scheme against all opposition, he determined to get rid of his wife. It hath been impossible to get to the knowledge of all the circumstances of this dark story. Thus much however is certain, that, when a view was taken of the corpse in the County-Hall, it appeared that it was all over full of *blue* and *green* spots*, with many other tokens of violence upon it: particularly a large *black mark* under the throat, in which, it was said, might plainly be observed the traces of the captain's *own hand*.

Perhaps, I ought to have told you before, that the captain had paid his addresses to lady *Wiseacre* at the same time she was courted by her late husband. His pretensions however for that turn, were easily set aside. To say the truth, Mr. NORTH BRITON, it was proved against him, that he was absolutely *incapable* of being her husband to any good effect †. The modesty of my pen will not suffer me to be too particular upon this part of the captain's history. I have hinted before that he was apt to keep low company. It happened one day that he dined in the *next town* with a club of taylor's, when the frolic was set on foot of *making him free*, as they called it; that is, of making him like one of themselves, which was immediately put in execution. This story soon got to the ears of lady *Wiseacre*; who vowed she would have nothing more to say to him, and that, as she deserved a whole man as well as any widow in
the

* Alluding to the different coloured ribbons wore by the two parties, as badges of their affection to the cause they espoused.

† There was a particular statute in the University, that no person who was a freeman of the city of Oxford, could be a member of the university; whereby it was determined, that Lord Litchfield, who was a member of the Taylors company, was disqualified from being elected Chancellor. Very soon after Lord Westmoreland's election, in order to remove this obstacle on another occasion, he had interest enough to get this statute repealed.

the kingdom, she would not do so much injustice to herself and her family, as to be contented with the ninth part of one.

How the captain's matters, in this respect, were patched up afterwards, whether by tacking on again what had been snipt off, or by what other means, it would be difficult and tedious to relate. It is certain, however, that more than two years ago, he was pronounced a *good man* again by a great majority of lady *Wifeacre's* domestics; by some of them, perhaps, with a view of promoting his farther designs upon their mistress.

Having given a sufficient account of the three competitors, I shall hasten as fast as possible to the catastrophe of my story. The confusion and irregularities which had prevailed, for some years, in lady *Wifeacre's* family, required the hand of a vigorous and active master to correct and reform them. No house had formerly been more exemplary to the whole country for the great decency and order maintained in it: but, of late, things were much altered. The younger servants were suffered to run loose about the country. Not one in ten of them could say his catechism. Very few of them could read; and even those who ought to have *read to them**, either could not, or would not do it. It lay, in a great measure, upon the upper servants to rectify these matters; and the time of chusing a new husband for lady *Wifeacre* gave them an opportunity of taking one main step towards it. We shall now see in what manner they made use of it.

Their old master was no sooner dead than Mrs. *Browne*, the housekeeper†, who is mistress of all that female wisdom called cunning, summoned together the
head-

* The Professors in every science, who have large salaries to read public lectures, but are so idle and infamous as not to do it.

† Doctor Brown, the present Vice-Chancellor.

head-servants* in the Scullery†, with the design of taking their sentiments on the face of affairs in the family; or rather with a view of dictating her own. After opening the business of the meeting;---“ Look ye, gentlemen, says she, I will have nothing to do with that lord *Sappling*;---I will not be governed by a boy; and, what is still worse, I will not be governed by lawyer *Keene*‡. You know very well, Mr. *Puff* ¶, said she, (speaking to *Peter* the pastry-cook) what a noise that fellow made some years ago, upon looking into one part of the accounts, and finding the paltry sum of *twenty thousand pounds* placed on the wrong side of the book ||.” *Aye, aye,* says *Peter*, *I shall never forget it. No lawyers. No lawyers.* . Immediately the cry of *no lawyers* ran through the company; and thus concluded the fate of poor lord *Sappling*, who, though the fittest in the world to do the lady’s business, lost all hopes of success from the untoward circumstance of his being intimately acquainted with an honest lawyer.

“ As for lord *Safe*, continued Mrs. *Browne*, we want none of his œconomy here. It would be little for the credit of lady *Wifeacre*’s house-keeping to have the plumbs weighed out for the pudding, or a weekly view taken

* The Heads of Houses.

† A place called Golgotha; where the heads of Houses always meet to consult about the business of the University.

‡ Dr. Blackstone, Vinerian Professor of civil law, and Principal of New-inn Hall.

¶ Dr. Niblett, Warden of All-Souls College, commonly called Puff Niblett, from his puffing and blowing whenever he speaks.

|| A very few years ago, Dr. Blackstone being chosen one of the delegates of the University press; inspected the accounts, and found there ought to have been in the chest twenty thousand pounds, not a farthing of which sum could be produced or accounted for, it having, as is generally imagined, been spent in feasting, &c. which work of iniquity he published to the whole University.

taken of the wine-cellar ;—besides, I am not sure, that he is not upon pretty good terms with *another lawyer**.”

“ Turn your eyes therefore, gentlemen, towards my noble captain. There’s the man will fit us to a hair. If my lady marries him, he hath assured me, for he called here this morning, that all things shall go on in the same quiet road. We shall have our turkey and oysters as usual, with the best turbot in the season by the Birmingham coach ; and you all know, gentlemen, that the venison of Ditchly is as good as any in the neighbourhood..” The very sound of turkeys, turbot and venison, of *much to be eaten, and nothing to be done*, put a stop to all farther deliberation, and immediately secured the votes and interests of the whole meeting for the captain.

This was a very good beginning ; but things might not have ended so well, had it not been for a countryman of yours, Mr. NORTH BRITON †, who, having cultivated an interest among the lower servants, and having some little design of his own to serve upon the lady, determined to drive them all into the assistance of the captain. Thus the game was secured for him, and he carried off his prize (for lord *Safe’s* people were determined to stand it out) by a majority of almost two to one.

The wedding was celebrated at the captain’s own house ‡, with such a profusion as had never been known within those walls. The claret was suffered to extend itself almost the whole length of the first table ; there was some port at the second ; and an enormous quantity of punch, which, according to the rule in Horace, had
been

* Lord Mansfield.

† Alluding to the influence Lord Bute had on some colleges, and his sending them a peremptory order to vote for Lord Litchfield.

‡ The Chancellor was installed at Ditchly, by a deputation of the members of the University.

been NINE years in bottle, was distributed among the servants.

But, alas! amidst all this jollity a cloud of melancholy was perceived to overspread the face of lady *Wiseacre*. She could not, without concern, observe the strange mixture of company which the captain had got together for her reception; and she began to conclude, from hence, that she was at length betrayed into the hands of those, who had always been the professed enemies of her and her family. These suspicions were but too truly the presages of her ensuing misfortunes. The captain, for near two years before, had spent great part of his time at a bagnio, near *St. James's*, and for reasons which may be easily guessed, was no longer possessed of that stock of athletic health and vigour, which he used to enjoy when he resided more constantly in the country. It was likewise soon discovered that he married lady *Wiseacre* as much for the use of the *Scotsman*, to whom she hath been prostituted, as for his own. The effect of this complication of corrupt embraces hath shewn itself in the breaking out of blotches and blains all over her, to the utter ruin of the poor woman's constitution as well as her character. In short, those who speak out plainly do not scruple to affirm, that she hath caught the p—x from her husband, and the i—h from her gallant. She now subsists to shew, by her sad example, *that the most established female virtue may fall a prey to the most contemptible assailant, when assisted by the FALSEHOOD and TREACHERY of pretended friends.*

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

N. N.

NUMB. XXX. SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25,
1762.

Venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem, te esse hominem divitem, factiosum.

I have taken it into my head, my friend, that you are a rich, factious person.

IN all political disputes, the word *faction* is much in esteem, and generally applied to the weaker side, though perhaps, there is not the least reason to justify that application. If by a *faction* we mean nothing more than a party formed in a state without any consideration had to the principles on which it is formed, the means by which it is conducted, and the ends to which it is directed; in this sense, the word is equally applicable to all parties, be their purposes good or bad, and comes entirely divested of that unfavourable idea, which usually attends it. But, if by a *faction* we mean, according to general acceptance, a set of men formed into a party on seditious and selfish principles, and determined, at all events, to oppose the friends and sacrifice the interests of the public to their own base and private views; in this sense of the word, it becomes us to be extremely cautious how we apply it. We ought fairly and candidly to examine both sides of the question, impartially weigh their several merits, and place it there only, where justice declares it to be due. If we regulate ourselves according to the directions of reason, we shall, I trust, on such an enquiry as is here proposed, find the word *faction* as often applicable to the greater number, as to the less, and shall have as frequent right to give it to the abettors of an administration as to the supporters of an opposition.

One sure and infallible *criterion*, by which every man may find out a *faction* with the most absolute certainty, is, the wicked art of sowing discord, and infusing of groundless jealousies among the people; whether directed against their old and firm friends, or their great and spirited allies. The first weekly political paper, which has appeared since the change of the ministry, and has been countenanced and paid by government, was the BRITON, who has abused, in the most indecent terms, his Majesty's royal grandfather, our protestant ally the king of Prussia, the city of London, its first magistrate, and the *people of England*. This was the first wretch hired to ring the alarum bell of discord and sedition. The unwearied labours of some others, for the four last years, to blast the laurels of *one man*, we all remember; and what arts are made use of to inflame the people against him, ever since the Scot assumed the reins of government. Let facts speak. Are we not now become an uneasy, distrustful, and divided people? And were we not a happy, confiding, and united nation, respected abroad, and blessed at home? Does not the present ministry occasion the greatest disunion and animosity ever remembered in this country? Are they not in the highest degree culpable of endangering the alienation of the best-intentioned subjects from the most gracious of sovereigns? Did not the late ministry preserve union and harmony in the nation; and had they not the confidence of the public in an unlimited manner? Whence has the change arisen? The progress of the present *daring exertion* of the new minister's *enormous power* is worth remarking. The first sacrifice to feed his proud arrogance, and to gratify his haughty and imperious nature, was Mr. Legge, that able and faithful *chancellor of the Exchequer*, who never presumed to present an account to parliament, without being able to give real satisfaction on every article in it, and was ever ready to answer even the *acute Sir John Philipps*, on every part of the demand made on the public,

public, though it might have consisted of above two hundred articles, and have amounted to upwards of £1,500,000 *. He was *turned out* solely from a personal pique of the minister. Mr. *Pitt*, and the noble lord, his brother, not very long after, quitted the administration, on their rejecting so wise and solid a plan of national honour, and indeed justice, that if it had been adopted, above half the destined victims of temerity and ignorance which have fallen at the *Havannah*; had now, in all human probability, been alive, to have shared in the *late* glories of their country. The next sacrifice was the old, faithful servant of the crown, the *Duke of Newcastle*.---I will now only say, that the new minister, under the pretence of sparing unnecessary taxes on the subject, prevented that noble *duke*, who then presided at the *treasury*, from raising an additional million, which the public creditors in every department of government, now clamour for from a *Treasury*, which cannot, or will not pay them. The *Duke of Devonshire* has likewise nobly disdained to suffer a name so auspicious to liberty, to be ranked among those of a *faction*, whose first view seems to establish the *despotism* his family has ever steadily and strenuously opposed. Mr. *Townshend*, whose superior abilities, and extensive knowledge, have been the admiration of mankind, is now in no employment under an administration of so black a cast, but stands as independent as unconnected with any part of it. It is remarkable, though not in the least astonishing, that of all the ministers, who, in the late and present reign, have carried the glory and power of this kingdom beyond that of all former ages, there is not *one* at present in the *cabinet*.

* *Sir John Philipps*, as usual, began the last session to nibble at the public accounts; but *Sir Francis Dashwood*, the new *Chancellor*, would not gratify so impertinent a curiosity. *Sir John* in vain *catechised*: *Sir Francis* was not so raw a *Catechumen* as to give him any answer whatever.

Is not this the clearest evidence of *faction* in the new ministry? I do not mention Mr. *Fox*, on this occasion, as one of the ministers, who have carried the glory of England to such a stupendous height; because, after the loss of *Minorca*, the late king, in compliance with the wishes of a whole people, gave the reins of government into abler hands. Mr. *Fox* retired to a post not of ambition, but of avarice. Dead to every feeling of a public nature, the *minister* was lost to his country. The business of the *paymaster* was, indeed, very thoroughly attended to, and every agent, jobber, broker, contractor, schemer, &c. had from him the most fair and patient hearing. As to other things of trifling moment, he quietly and silently concurred in all the measures of government, even those of the *German war*, though he is now, after the *preliminaries* are ratified, *very ready to debate that question* *. Is not this avowing, that while it could be of any importance to his country, or of any detriment to himself, he chose to wave that debate; now, when it is merely a point of curiosity, this wary minister wishes, like an artful old Sophist, to try the argument?

Do we not then discover clear marks of a *faction's* having seized the helm of government? Are all the most able and successful ministers excluded? Who have succeeded? The creatures of a *Scottish faction*. The friends of liberty and the *revolution* have now no countenance but from the nation. The *Tory faction* is triumphant, and the most slavish doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* is preached up by every pamphleteer, and to its full extent insisted upon by an all-grasping minister. Is there a man, who has been zealous in the cause of liberty, or who hesitates about the goodness of the *Preliminaries*, who does not think them quite equal to the splendor of the war, and the immense value

* This declaration was made by Mr. *Fox* in a great assembly, after the ratification of the *Preliminaries*.

value of our conquests? He is immediately disgraced. We were indeed promised, that in this parliament, under the halcyon reign of a *British* monarch, every man might vote according to the honest dictates of his conscience, without fear of losing the protection he is most ambitious of, or the smiles he most values. The king has nothing to ask of his people, but what their hearts and voices will concur in: a minister, for the support of *his* power, must have all *his* measures approved, and *his* security established by a *majority*. The occurrences of a few days open a new scene to us. Not only the most approved friends of government in the senate, but in almost every part of administration, no longer find protection or favour. A life of forty and sixty years assiduity, with acknowledged integrity, in an important * office, have not been able to save a secretary and a comptroller; but they are ungratefully dismissed, and devoted as victims of the vengeance denounced against their benefactors, though confessed not only innocent, but highly meritorious. Is not this descending to the lowest dregs of *faction*? Are there not in such proceedings the plainest marks of low and selfish designs, and of the interested views of a despicable *faction*.

Faction likewise discovers itself in constantly keeping in view partial, selfish schemes, in opposition to the interests of the public. Thus, in the late negotiations for a peace, when it was asked, why it was not insisted that the fishery should be preserved intire to England, and if refused, the war be carried on another year, the answer always was, *we cannot raise the supplies!* Is not this the language of a self-interested *faction*? The honest answer is clear; *then you ought to resign to those, who can raise the supplies and carry on the war, till we obtain what we have been promised, an equitable and glorious peace.* A wicked *faction* only could purchase an

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ignoble and inglorious peace, by giving up to the perfidious *French*, and to the feeble and insolent *Spaniard*, our most valuable and important conquests. I will add an *insecure peace*; because, whatever restores *France* to her former power and capacity of injuring her neighbours, renders the *peace insecure* and infallibly draws on another war. *France* will now soon be in possession of all her sugar islands, those great sources of naval strength and of wealth, of the northern fishery, that nursery of seamen; and upwards of twenty thousand seamen are immediately to be given up, *unransomed*, to recruit her shattered, almost annihilated fleet, in order to lay the foundations of future rivalship of this nation. What ought to be ascribed only to the imbecility or timidity of our new minister, *France* already makes a solemn mockery of to heaven, *Dieu, par sa bonté, ne permet pas, que la paix se fit au desavantage de la Maison Royale, & de la France.*

The language of *faction*, has always been remarkable; very plausible and specious, but full of treachery and falsehood. Thus the BRITON, of last Saturday, says, *Who ever dreamed that the boasted success of the French at Newfoundland should add a fresh wreath to the present minister's political garland! We could not imagine, that an unpractised minister should, almost in the twinkling of an eye, have recovered, without expence to the nation, without effusion of blood, that important settlement, to the loss, disgrace, and confusion of our enemies, in such a manner, that the loss was scarcely felt before it was repaired.* Now, that this is the language of *falsehood* and *faction*, will most evidently appear from these two clear proofs. The one is, that the ships which sailed from hence did not arrive till after *St. John's &c.* at *Newfoundland*, was entirely recovered from the *French*. The other, that the American officers *before the receipt of any orders from Europe*, attempted and completed this great service. Lieutenant-colonel Amherst, in his letter to the Earl of Egremont,

Egremont, says, *According to the orders I received from Sir Jeffrey Amherst at New-York, of which your Lordship will have been informed, &c.* It is, therefore, most evident, that the loss of *Newfoundland* ought to be ascribed to the *negligence* of the new minister, and its recovery to the *vigilance* of the American officers, and in particular of *Sir Jeffery Amherst*. I will only mention one fact, relative to the loss of *Newfoundland*, because it is not generally known. It is, that a fortnight before Mr. *Pitt* resigned, he insisted, that *four ships of the line* should be sent for the protection of *Newfoundland*. Such a succour, in all probability had saved our merchants from a loss not yet, nor likely for some years to be, fully repaired.

I think it is now clear, from the principles and views, as well as the conduct and language of the administration, that the present ministry is a *faction* of a dangerous nature, and most mischievous tendency. An *opposition*, therefore, to measures, evidently calculated on one hand to restore our inveterate enemy, *France*, to her pristine state of greatness, and on the other hand to depress the noble spirit of freedom, by inculcating the mean doctrines of the uncontrollable power, and *independency* of any single part of the British legislature, becomes the duty of every honest man, and every sincere lover of his country. It was, under such circumstances, at every period, undoubtedly the *duty* of a good man, now it becomes his *glory*; because he is likely in so noble a cause to be reviled and persecuted. Almost every friend of *liberty* and of *revolution principles* has retired, or been dismissed; and it is generally believed, that every person *brought in* by the duke of Newcastle, is now, by the present minister, to be *turned out*---except the *King*.

The NORTH BRITON presents his compliments to the AUDITOR, and returns his best thanks for the insertion of the letter concerning FLORIDA, signed VIATOR, in his

*last paper, and for the full credit he has given to the several facts it contains.**

NUMB. XXXI. SATURDAY, JANUARY 1,
1763.

SOLON rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, PRÆMIO & Pœna. CICERO.

SOLON said, that Government is maintained by two things, REWARD and PUNISHMENT.

THE doctrine of *rewards* and *punishments* has always operated in a very powerful manner on the passions of the weak and selfish part of mankind. It is a question which would require a nice discussion, whether the *divine* or *politician* has more frequently been obliged to have recourse to it, or has made the most converts by this efficacious application to our *hopes* or *fears*. I own that I am rather inclined to the *politician*, because he brings all his artillery in view, to begin an immediate attack, and in case we do not surrender at *discretion* we see that the effect will be as instantaneous as it

* To the AUDITOR.

S I R,

“ AT a time when popular clamour is so loud, and prejudice so violent, that the still small voice of truth can scarcely be heard; it is some pleasure to observe that all are not borne away by the stream, and that you, though almost single, oppose yourself to its rage, and bravely attempt to stem the torrent.”

“ You have laboured, not unsuccessfully, to undeceive a misguided people, to save them from the strong impressions of artful misrepresentation, and more daring falsehood. You alone have refused to condemn men for what they are to do; to censure them for measures never taken, and arraign them for counsels

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it is certain. The *divine* allures us with the most pleasing hopes, or alarms us with a prospect of much terror, but then it is believed to be so distant, that the danger seems to diminish, and he is obliged in a good measure to trust to a *reversion* of rewards and punishments. I am sorry to observe, that man is so short-sighted, as well as suspicious, that these kinds of *reversion* scarcely operate at all; while others of an infamous nature have,

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“fals which they did not give. Thus nobly employed in the cause of truth, justice and patriotism, nay, of humanity itself: every little assistance which any one’s knowledge may enable him to give you, must, I am persuaded, be acceptable to you. Let me then, Sir, contribute my mite, which, though thrown into a treasury, yet is still of some value.”

“Great art and much falsehood have been employed to set every acquisition, made by the present treaty of peace, in a contemptible and disadvantageous light. Countries whose value and importance were before universally acknowledged, became, the moment they were known to be ceded to us, of no value and importance. Great towns were diminished to paltry villages; populous countries were reduced to uninhabited regions; and fertile and cultivated provinces, were converted into barren and naked deserts. Such has been the fate of Canada; such has been the fate of Florida. I shall confine myself to the latter of these: for this reason, I know the country. Had our political writers confined themselves within the same bounds, and argued about nothing but what they knew, they would have wonderfully abridged their own labours, and have imposed much less upon the patience and credulity of their readers.”

“I have traversed by far the greatest part of this our new acquisition; and I do assure you and the public, that I never saw a finer country than Florida is for the most part. Neat and comfortable houses on the plantations; well built, though, I confess, small towns, and these in a well improved, and richly cultivated country, are what constantly strike the eye of the traveller. What commercial advantages may be drawn from it, I leave abler pens to display; I speak only of the appearance of the country: and yet this leads me to mention one advantage I apprehend our West-Indian islands may reap from the possession of that country, even in the commercial
“light.

on base and groveling minds, produced the most wonderful effects. I have known *a reversion for three lives on the Irish establishment* operate in so surprising a manner, that with an effrontery, and contempt of parliament, of which only that one man is capable, a modern statesman, some few years ago, ventured to give it under his hand, that he would *take the conduct of the house of commons* *.

Though

“ light. The only, at present, profitable tracts of Florida,
 “ are certain large bogs, or marshy grounds, which produce an
 “ excellent kind of fuel; being pretty much the same thing
 “ which is called in England peat or turf: of this there is by
 “ far a greater quantity than would serve the inhabitants for
 “ firing, were they ten times more numerous than they are.
 “ Now, Sir, it is a fact notoriously true, and of which I have
 “ been an eye-witness, that all kind of fuel is extremely scarce
 “ in the West-Indies; I do not mean for boiling the sugars,
 “ for with that the trash of the sugar-cane sufficiently supply
 “ them, but for domestic uses: for the truth of this I appeal to
 “ every gentleman who has been in the West-Indies; indeed
 “ the scarcity is such, that I can safely affirm, that not one of
 “ the lower kind of the planters have a comfortable fire in their
 “ parlours or bed-chambers; nay, even amongst the better
 “ sort, I have seldom seen a good fire, though at the severest
 “ season of the year. In Jamaica, I am told, the case is other-
 “ wise; it may be so, I never was there, and I speak only of
 “ what I know. But in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher’s
 “ and Montserrat, I have been, and what I have said, I affirm
 “ to be a fact in those islands. Is it then a small advantage to
 “ add, and that at a cheap rate, to the conveniences and com-
 “ forts of our fellow subjects, fellow-creatures, and fellow-
 “ christians?”

“ Let me add, and then I have done, that what I have said
 “ of those islands is true of Guadaloupe, that favourite child
 “ of a very indulgent, though, no doubt, very disinterested
 “ father, the author of an Examination of the commercial prin-
 “ ciples, &c. Possibly he may have been in Guadaloupe; let
 “ him contradict me if I assert what is not true, and I will give
 “ him proof as fully convincing as a Custom-house entry.

“ I am, Sir, your’s, &c.

“ VIATOR.”

* The Right Honourable *Henry Fox*, Esquire.

Though I must say, that the iron *ministerial* rod of power was certainly never lifted so high, nor ever fell with so much weight, and unrelenting cruelty on the subject; yet, I am very ready to acknowledge the great sagacity of our politicians in general, and especially of the minister now at the head of the *British* government, in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*. I only hesitate a little as to the *quantum*, which does not seem to me always accurately adjusted. I could mention several, but I shall confine myself to two striking instances, which by comparison will perhaps be shewn in a stronger light. I mean the *rewards* bestowed on those two very extraordinary gentlemen, Mr. *Pitt*, and Mr. *Rigby*. I cannot but be of opinion that they are quite disproportionate to the respective merits of each. Mr. *Pitt* seems to me greatly overpaid: Mr. *Rigby* is penuriously dealt with, if we consider the variety and importance of his services. Mr. *Pitt*, from the annuity he enjoys, does not receive quite 2,200*l.* a year. Mr. *Rigby* is *Master of the Rolls in Ireland*: which is 1,600*l.* a year, and is likewise one of the *Vice-Treasurers* of that kingdom, which is a good 3,000*l.* more. Mr. *Rigby* has then in all 4600*l.* a year, which is little more than twice what Mr. *Pitt* receives from the public. Mr. *Pitt's* services, however, have been formerly acknowledged by his sovereign to be *great* and *important**: Mr. *Rigby's* have not that *eclat*. The reason perhaps may be, because they are *secret services*; perhaps ought to remain so; and from the modesty of their nature, as well as of their author, should not only carefully be kept from the glare of ostentation, but even concealed from discovery. They are not less essential because they are *secret services*; and in my conscience, I believe they are of such a nature, that Mr. *Pitt* would be found totally incapable of reaching in so superlative a degree. I cannot persuade myself, that Mr. *Pitt* could have done

* See *London Gazette* of Oct. 10. 1761.

such real services to the *duke of Bedford*, when his *grace*, in so amiable and endearing a manner, administered the government of *Ireland*, as *Mr. Rigby* actually and frequently did—by his mild and moderate counsels. I am likewise of opinion, that in his late tour to *France*, on that arduous business of the negotiations for *peace*, his *grace* had particular obligations to *Mr. Rigby*—in private hints, and perhaps even amendments of the *preliminaries*, which have made them appear so correct and high-finished, that they are universally admired. If I might be indulged a bold conjecture, I should be inclined to give *Mr. Rigby* the particular merit of that article, which describes countries so accurately by their lying on the *left* side of the river *Mississippi*; and I think he ought to be appointed *first geographer* as well as *Masters of Rolls* (or should it not be *Revells*?) in *Ireland*. The merit of *Mr. Rigby* shines forth here in full lustre. We must likewise in justice ascribe to the wise and salutary advice of that gentleman all the happiness our fellow subjects of *Ireland* enjoyed under the beloved administration of his *grace of Bedford*, as well as a share of the glories of a *peace*, which has saved *England* from the certain ruin of success, and preserved to her all those conquests, which were of any value or importance. In the whole of these transactions *Mr. Pitt* had not the least share.

I will do the ministry justice in every thing. There is, I confess, a fitness and propriety in the mode of rewarding these two gentlemen, which does honour to the discernment of the administration. Of the plenteous crop of laurels, which *Mr. Pitt* has gathered, the fairest, and the only laurels likely to be *evergreen*, have come from *America*. The revenues, therefore, of the new world have been taxed to pay a little tribute to its conqueror. The scene of *Mr. Rigby's* glory is *Ireland*. The modest *Irish Bay* encircles his modest brow, and her sweet *harp* ever resounds with his praises. Her sons, therefore, with the strictest propriety, as well as wonderful

derful cheerfulness, now pay the 4,600*l.* a year, to support the dignity of this *English* patriot, their late adored governor; for TRINCULO well says, *You shall be vice-roy, but I will be vice-roy over you.*

In another instance where Mr. *Pitt* has never concurred, Mr. *Rigby* has steadily served his country. We all know that Mr. *Fox* has ever been the darling of the people, as well as the particular favourite of the *Cocoa-Tree*. Some malevolent writers have, indeed, some years ago, compared him to CATILINE, (for I must correct the spelling of the ignorant AUDITOR, who always writes CATALINE) I suppose only from the circumstances of CATILINE's having been the *Paymaster* of all the seditious and profligate in ROME; but the body of the people have always had the utmost trust and confidence in him. This virtuous minister, who by so fully opening his—heart, has now opened the eyes of the parliament, though not of the public, Mr. *Rigby* has supported: Mr. *Pitt* firmly opposed, and never concurred in any of his *great* and *glorious* schemes for his country.

The comparison of Mr. PITT with Mr. RIGBY.

Among many things, which claim our admiration in both these men, one of the chief is, that from inconsiderable helps they attained to such greatness. In this respect Mr. *Pitt* has the advantage; for he has no partner, none to share his glory; whereas Mr. *Rigby* has been joined with many others, and has always acted rather in an inferior and subordinate sphere. Mr. *Pitt*, almost alone in his age, seems to have possessed that great political virtue, the art of governing kingdoms to their own satisfaction, which the ancients laid down as the greatest perfection which the nature of man could acquire.

In comparing their lives, we may observe, that this was common to them both; they were not born to any share

share of the legislature of their own country, but both raised themselves to be considerable among their fellow-citizens, and to have voices in the *senate*. This was, indeed, effected by different methods. Mr. *Pitt* obtained his seat in parliament by the unanimous suffrages of a few gentlemen of virtue and discernment. Mr. *Rigby* has put himself upon his country more at large, and has generally canvassed the dregs of the people in the same manner *Cæsar* did for the post of *Pontifex Maximus*, and with them has found the same success. This is peculiar to Mr. *Pitt*, that the palm of virtue and ability was readily yielded to him by every man of every party; whereas any great superiority of virtue or talents has been disputed by many with Mr. *Rigby*. Every *prudent*, every *modest*, every *decent* part, has been denied to be his praise; and I have, indeed, never heard that he has made any serious claim to either. In this, the difference is glaring. PLUTARCH says, *QUINTUS SERTORIUS was already in high esteem for his former services in the war, and his great abilities in the Senate-House; whereas EUMENES obtained what he had, when he had been only a SECRETARY, and had been despised for the meanness of his employment.*

As to *eloquence*, they are both confessedly great; and I scarcely know how to compare them. If the *eloquence* of Mr. *Pitt* has been compared to the *bold thunder*, that of Mr. *Rigby* is undoubtedly the *brisk lightning*. Mr. *Pitt* never fails to persuade, to awaken, to rouse the passions; and to gain them over to the side of truth and virtue. Mr. *Rigby* as seldom has failed to enliven, to entertain, to amuse, and where he has found his own language sink under the powers of his oratory, he has opened to us all the classical treasures of the great Roman, LILLY, (not Tully) and has boldly denounced the terrors of his vengeance against *omne quod exit in hause* *.

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* An expression of Mr. *Rigby's* in a great assembly.

As to their *negotiations*, Mr. *Rigby* is to be preferred. Mr. *Pitt* has been concerned only in one negotiation with the perfidious *Gaul*, whom he brought to sue for peace in *our capital*. Mr. *Rigby* has twice adventured to the *capitals* of his enemies the *French*, and of his *dear friends* the *Irish*, on important negotiations. Their motives were the same, and motives are the soul of actions, by which wise men have at all times measured the merits of them. Mr. *Pitt* seems to feel the most sincere benevolence and disposition to do good to the *people of England*; Mr. *Rigby*, a much better Christian, to our late enemies, the *people of France*; by which, as they are certainly more numerous than the subjects of the *British* empire, the benevolence of Mr. *Rigby* becomes more dilated, and is more universal than that of Mr. *Pitt*. In the negotiation likewise, Mr. *Rigby's* open, unsuspecting nature, relies on the *Royal Word of the French King*, that he will not fortify *St. Peter's*, &c. which all Europe knows is ample security; whereas Mr. *Pitt* very uncourteously insists (and this only one of four *indispensible* conditions) on the residence of a *Commissary*, among people who do not wish for his company, and on the *visits* of the commander of the *British* squadron at *Newfoundland*, which must be unwelcome to every single *Frenchman* there. As to Mr. *Rigby's* negotiations among the *Irish*, their affection to him is now by no means equivocal. The returns he makes, I think, are scarcely adequate to the exuberant kindness of such friends; for he is now endeavouring to obtain an act to enable him to take *here* the oath of office, as joint *Vice-Treasurer of Ireland*, which will deprive them of his wish'd-for company in that kingdom, and of the opportunity of giving him the most *solid* and *striking* proofs of their esteem and affection. This they will the more lament, because by his politely taking a *French* leave of them, they lost an opportunity (of which they were universally ambitious) of giving him indelible marks of their gratitude.

As that body is, without doubt, the most strong and healthy, which can best support extreme cold and excessive heat, so that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not elated with prosperity, nor dejected in adversity. In this respect the virtue of Mr. *Pitt* appears more compleat. He was for many years the admiration of all his fellow-citizens; on a sudden, the wicked arts, and false suggestions of a few malevolent and envious men, the hirelings of the mean *Scot*, for a short time obscured his fame, and eclipsed his glory. His conduct on both occasions was the same; modesty, calm sense, and dignity attended him. Mr. *Rigby* has ever been in the *same esteem* with mankind; therefore we have no trial of the firmness or fortitude of his mind.

Mr. *Pitt* seems to have the advantage of Mr. *Rigby* in the number and greatness of his exploits. There is a glory round Mr. *Pitt* from *Louisbourg, Quebec, Pondicherry, &c.* which no *sane* man looks for round Mr. *Rigby*. On the other hand, Mr. *Rigby* has the merit of having restored concord to a neighbouring kingdom, and of enthroning peace and himself in the heart of every true *Irishman*; Mr. *Rigby* too deserves a distinguished niche in the temple of *domestic concord*. If the *conqueror's laurel* be peculiarly Mr. *Pitt's*, the *lover's myrtle* is no less Mr. *Rigby's*.

As to their more private characters, both Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Rigby* have generosity and spirit. In other things they differ. Mr. *Pitt* is abstemious, temperate, and regular; Mr. *Rigby* indulges more in convivial pleasures, is an excellent *bon vivant*, perfectly amiable and engaging in private life. Mr. *Pitt*, by the most manly sense, and the fine sallies of a warm and sportive imagination, can charm the whole day; and as the *Greek* said, His entertainments please even *the day after* they are given. Mr. *Rigby* has all the *gibes and gambols, and flashes of merriment, which set the table in a roar*; but amidst his profusion of pleasures, and even amongst his roses, fierce

fierce repentance rears her snaky crest, and *the day after* a cruel head-ach, *at least*, frequently succeeds. In short, I wish to spend all my days with Mr. Pitt; but I am afraid, that at night I should often skulk to Mr. Rigby and his——friends.

NUMB. XXXII. SATURDAY, JANUARY 8,
1763.

Here stood her opium, here she nurs'd her owls,
And here she plann'd th' imperial seat of fools.

POPE.

To the C O C O A - T R E E.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is now so much become the fashion to address you, that common politeness seems to give you a right to a few lines from the NORTH BRITON. To you then he calls, *but with no friendly voice*. He feels neither affection, nor esteem for you. He equally detests your *principles* and your *practices*. He has marked you for many years, factious, seditious, and very near *rebellious*. For *four years only*, under the *patriot minister*, whom you have now deserted, he was witness to your acting on *revolution principles*; but how little you were in earnest, and how faintly your hearts glowed even then with the generous warmth of liberty, your present conduct bears full evidence. I shall not now attempt your history as a *party*. That is too large a field for a weekly paper: *longa est historia, longæ ambages*. A few of the *outlines* I will mark, and if they are faithful, and drawn after truth, they will be more *bold* than *regular*. I shall
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confine myself almost entirely to some circumstances, I believe of importance, which are still unnoticed by abler pens; and I will point out a few, though not of your *amiable*, yet of your *leading features*.

The infinite number of writings you formerly published to recommend *passive obedience, non-resistance, and indefeasible right*, were a disgrace to the free government under which you lived; and your slavish maxims led a former unhappy prince, *James the Second*, to attempt the reducing into practice what you had for some years inculcated through the nation as the clear right of the *Crown*. You have *now* rather softened the terms, and you only talk of the *independency* and *prerogative* of the *crown*; but your meaning clearly remains the same. These were the universal doctrines, and characteristics of a *Tory*. All your friends at your head-quarters in the capital loudly proclaimed these tenets of slavery, and your favourite country residence of *Oxford* echoed them through the nation. They were *talked, written, and preached into vogue* by venal, prostitute priests. The *judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, passed in the Convocation, July 21, 1683*, is full of maxims which overturn the first principles of all free governments, and of all civil liberty. *That there is a mutual contract, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects: That the Sovereignty of England is in the three estates, viz. king, lords, and commons: That self-preservation is the fundamental law of nature: That there lies no obligation upon christians to passive obedience, when the prince commands any thing against the laws of our country, &c. &c. &c.* These are only a few of the many propositions, which the university of *Oxford* declared to be *false, seditious, and impious*, and Rapin says, *the DECREE was presented to the King with great solemnity, and was very graciously received*. I appeal to the common sense of mankind, whether the English government is not entirely overturned by these maxims, which only the professed slaves of a *Turkish emperor* could surely without blushing offer

offer to the Grand Seigneur. BOLINBROKE says, *that they are as absurd in their natures as terrible in their consequences, and would shock the common sense of a SAMOJEDE, or an HOTTENTOT.* The university ordered, that IN PERPETUAL MEMORY, *these their decrees shall be entered into the registry of the convocation, &c.* The house of lords, in 1710, ordered this Decree to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; but I desire to be informed whether it does not now remain at Oxford UN-REPEALED*.

Many, however, of the considerable *Tories* concurred in the *revolution* which was brought about, *against their principles*; but they all soon repented of it, and were never hearty friends to king *William*, though many of them were favoured by him. They continued generally in very ill humour with the government till the latter end of *queen Anne's* reign, when their machinations against the house of *Hanover* were manifest to all Europe; and they actually betrayed to *France* almost all the members of the grand alliance. Their particular spleen to the *Dutch*, to whom this nation was so greatly indebted for the *revolution*, is remarkable. *The following orders were sent to lord PRIVY SEAL, who was then the great tool of that faction, for his farther conduct:* “ You are to stop all instances for procuring the Tarif of 1664 to the *Dutch*; you are to decline absolutely to confer any farther with them upon any matter—and the queen looks upon herself, from their conduct, now to be under no obligation whatever to them.” Report from the committee of secrecy, the 9th of June, 1715, p. 12, and afterwards, p. 30. *Mr. St. John writes a long letter to the lord PRIVY SEAL, and instructs him to lay the entire blame of all that has happened to the Dutch.*

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* It is expected that this infamous *Decree* will be soon repealed, at the particular request of their present *Chancellor*, as an indubitable proof of his sincere conversion to the principles of *Liberty* and the *Revolution*.

The *peace of Utrecht*, gentlemen, was infamously patched up by your party, and therefore you are to be detested for having laid the foundation of all the future troubles of Europe. I must, however, own, that on the 24th of April, 1714, both houses of parliament presented an address to the queen, *to express the just sense which they had of her Majesty's goodness to her people, in delivering them by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, &c.* In the house of commons this resolution passed *nemine contradicente*, the friends of liberty having at that time agreed to avoid unmeaning divisions, and to reserve themselves for a more favourable exertion of their spirit. *Your pens now flourish on PREROGATIVE* just as they did at that time. The message to the house of commons on the 8th of May, 1713, begins, *As it is the undoubted PREROGATIVE of the crown to make Peace and War, &c.* The last Address, presented on the 13th of December, 1762, has these words, *Although to make peace and war be your Majesty's just and undoubted PREROGATIVE, &c.* In little more than a twelvemonth another house of commons, *nemine contradicente*, impeached Lord Oxford, and Lord Bolinbroke, of high treason, for some of the articles of this very treaty. One of the articles of impeachment against the Earl of Oxford, was, *that he had treacherously advised the 9th article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fishing, and drying fish on NEWFOUNDLAND.* All Europe laughed at the first resolution, and detested the vile flattery and venality of *that* parliament. The queen, in her answer, said, *I esteem this address as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal subjects.* Notwithstanding this, the lords, in their very first address to king George I. say, *they hope to recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general.* The commons declared, *We are sensibly touched, not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon*
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the nation by the unjustifiable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expence, and was attended with such unparalleled successes: but as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole nation; so we firmly hope and believe that, through your majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your commons, the reputation of these your kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and restored.

What passed, gentlemen, among your friends at Oxford in the beginning of the reign of his Majesty's great grand-father, and how opportunely major-general Pepper arrived there, with a considerable body of horse, to your utter confusion, and the ruin of all your rebellious designs, is fresh in our memories. Oxford was then known to be the strong hold of *Jacobitism*; but I believe, even then, in fear, or modesty, you only called yourselves *Tories*. After the Duke of Ormond was attainted by act of parliament, the superior numbers of your friends in the university, by a great majority, elected his brother the Earl of Arran, their Chancellor, *to testify, as the Vice-Chancellor publicly declared, their obligations to the family of BUTLER, and to express their gratitude to his GRACE*—for his many services to the Pretender. To the Earl of Arran, Lord Westmorland succeeded, by the strongest of all recommendations to the university; for he was said to be the man in the kingdom most personally obnoxious to our late Sovereign. The Earl of Westmorland was succeeded by Lord LITCHFIELD; and your party, gentlemen, grew so greatly in favour, that OXFORD now gave us *chancellors for courtiers*, and of her *doctors* we made *chancellors*; for that remarkable year teemed with the dire omen (which heaven avert!) of the same *doctor** made *chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *comptroller of the high Borlace club*. He at once administered the finances of this kingdom to the purposes of a German war in its full extent, and artfully guided the

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nice,

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

nice, constitutional toasts of that *virtuous, patriot* club. Your favours, and those of government, which he had merited by a long succession of services, were showered down for the first time on the *same* great object, who had, in some degree (*credite posteri!*) the confidence of both. I must observe, that the poor *old interest* expired a little before this time, deserted at least, perhaps betrayed, by those she had most confided in. She had, indeed, but a little before seen her present *Oxford* chancellor subscribe a parchment full of wonderful promises to support her; but she had likewise seen his orders to erase his name from it, with an express and very true declaration, that he would not abide by what he had signed*.

I am not surpris'd, gentlemen, at your present virulence against that *great person*, whom, next to king *William*, every *Englishman* reveres as his deliverer; and, I appeal to daily observation, almost every *Scotsman* detests and reviles. Ever since the battle of *Culloden*, to which his Majesty owes his crown, he has been the marked object of your abuse. How much of the admired invective of the celebrated *Radcliffe's* harangue was pointed by your *favourite orator of sedition*, the *factious, pestilent, vain † old man*, against our *great deliverer*? Has your present ‡ *leader* caught of you the foul stain of ingratitude to our great friend; and, falling on so rank a soil, has he improved it by treachery to a noble and generous benefactor? How near did your *orator* approach to the very verge of treason, to gain your applause? I well remember your apprehensions at the frequent repetitions of the word *REDEAT*, and your loud applauses, when you found that though the guilt of treason was clearly incurred, yet the *orator* had contrived to save himself from the penalty of the law. How were you charmed with *Carmina tum melius, cum venerit*

* This curious parchment is still in being.

† *Dr. King*; ‡ *Mr. Fox*.

venerit ipse, canemus, and many other expressions totally void of all meaning and wit, but what must arise from their being treason to the constitution of your country? The standard of disaffection was then set up at *Oxford*, and your midnight orgies were such as every true lover of his country heard of with horror. What your wishes were in the time of the last rebellion, is now universally known; and your intrigues with the court of *France* have been fully unravelled. DEYMAN, who died in *Paris* soon after the battle of *Culloden*, the pensioner and agent of the *French* king, was for ever with you at the *Cocoa-Tree*; nor will you dare to deny that your negotiation with the court of *France* became fruitless from this single point, that you insisted on the *French* first landing here, the court of *France* insisted on your first rising in arms, which only your poltroonery kept you from. Had your courage equalled your disposition to rebellion, you had joined your *new allies* the *Scots* at *Derby*, and the *English* had delivered this free country from a few more of her base and unnatural sons.

Forgive me, gentlemen, when I recal your attention to the general election in 1754. You then supported lord *Wenman* and Sir *James Dashwood*. Did either of them *associate* in the time of the most imminent danger to the state, when the *Pretender* was at the head of a considerable body of rebels in the heart of the kingdom? In the reams of paper you blotted in advertisements, did you ever once name his majesty king *George*, or the house of *Hanover*? Did not this give the nation the strongest suspicions of your loyalty and affection to his majesty's family? I blush, when I add, that in the reign of his grandson you are caressed and trusted.

Yet, gentlemen, I will be far from blending you all in one common mass, as tinctured with *Jacobitism*; I could name some among you, who, though generally actuated by caprice, yet I know have had in their few cool moments of reflection, an aversion to all *monarchical government*, and have held in perpetual derision the re-

speēt and veneration due to kings. All their ill-bred and indecent jokes on *kissing hands*, &c. are well remembered. His majesty's father said to the two * most remarkable, when they professed much devotion to his service, *I know you both well; you would indeed make me the greatest STADTHOLDER England ever had.* Yet, notwithstanding all their parade of *stubborn* † *virtue*, we have seen these two men ready to go into all the most odious measures, to *run all lengths*, and to become very *practicable*, or rather very *pliable*; for *practicability* implies a dexterity in business, which we have never yet seen in either of them. It is the observation of *Swift*, “Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it. For example, a man, who, upon all occasions, declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a condition of reducing it to practice.”

I shall now, gentlemen, only make one farther remark, that while you have been regularly preaching *submission*, and practising *opposition* to the crown, the impartial world will conclude that you believe the crown has not hitherto been placed where you may think it ought, and therefore you waited till then to practise your old doctrine of *non-resistance*; a doctrine you have ever forgot to the *Hanover* family. For my part, I have ever been persuaded that the happiness of this government depends on the security of his majesty's undoubted

* Earl T---t, and Sir F---- D-----d, Bart.

† So *Talbot's* want of place is want of sense,
And *Dashwood's* stubborn virtue downright insolence.

Paul Whitehead's epistle to Dr. Thompson.

We have seen how *stubborn* the *virtue* of Sir *Francis Dashwood* was, particularly in the *Excise*; but it was scarcely so real as *Lord Talbot's* want of a place.

undoubted title, founded on those principles, which established the glorious *revolution*, and I hope will ever warm the breast of every *Englishman*.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

The NORTH BRITON.

NUMB. XXXIII. SATURDAY, JANUARY
15, 1763.

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret. HOR.

For nature, driven out with proud disdain,
All-powerful goddess, will return again. FRANCIS.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the modesty of those writers who congratulate the public on a total abolition of party, and the universal satisfaction and harmony which prevail throughout the nation; at a time when every honest face is clouded with distrust, and every honest heart full of grief; when the old and tried friends of the constitution are retired in discontent, or rudely thrust from their seats, through the influence of the old avowed enemies of the present Family on the throne, headed by a minister, whose country, before he was in power, and whose behaviour since, has rendered him justly suspected, and general odious. However great the advantages of union amongst ourselves may really be, and however they may be magnified beyond their true extent, by the venal instruments of power, I should think them much too dearly purchased, if they could be purchased that way, by throwing all places of trust, honour,

honour, and profit into the hands of the *Tories*, whom no true lover of his country can behold without suspicion in any place of trust at all.

If we look some years back, we shall find *that party* was wholly sustained by the great abilities of some few among them, who made it subservient to their private piques or interests, and had ingenuity enough to puzzle the cause with dexterity, and confound those whom they could not convince. At present, happily for this nation, there is not one able man amongst them; their heads are as bad as their hearts: those who have taken up their pen in their behalf have made a bad cause worse, by the manner in which they have handled it, and notwithstanding the various palliations and unmeaning distinctions they have made use of, their principles are laid open to the nation, and in every honest man's mouth is to be found that antient, and I will venture to say, for I will, in the course of this paper, undertake to prove it, true assertion—*Shew me a TORY, and I will shew you a JACOBITE.*

As this assertion may, perhaps, seem too general and severe to many moderate persons, and as the abettors of that reviving party, will no doubt tell us, that these words have by no means the same import; that they differ as much in latitude of signification as in their original; that they are entirely employed on different objects; that the name of *Tory* subsisted long before that of *Jacobite* was known, which was afterwards grafted upon it merely from an *unfortunate accident*, as they call it, or as we would term it by a *special providence*; as they will insist that the name of *Tory* cannot include that of *Jacobite*, at any rate, though they will indeed candidly allow, that the name of *Jacobite* includes that of *Tory*; as all these pretences carry with them some shew of reason, I shall now give this point a more particular discussion. I shall consider the real import of these words, and shall, I trust, before I have done, convince

convince the impartial reader, that he may with the greatest propriety pronounce them *synonymous*.

A *Tory* in the true and original meaning of the word, not to gloss it over with vain and artificial interpretations, was a maintainer of the infernal doctrine of arbitrary power and indefeasible right on the part of the sovereign, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the subject; a doctrine which many preceding monarchs had endeavoured to establish by cunning, but which the *STUARTS* first openly avowed, and would have confirmed by force. The *Tory* maintained, that the king held his crown of none but God; that he could not, by the most flagrant violation of the laws, by the most tyrannical exercise of his power, forfeit his right; that the people were made entirely for him, and that he had a right to dispose of their fortunes, lives and liberties, in defiance of his coronation oath, and the eternal laws of reason, without the subject having any right to demand redress of their grievances, or, if their demand was denied, to seek it in themselves. Doth not the *Jacobite* hold these very tenets? Are not his articles of state-faith of the same complexion? Where is the one different from the other, unless in name? Will the *Tories* tell us, that what they maintain relates only to the system of government, to which the *Jacobite* adds a particular consideration of an attachment to the interests of the *Stuart* family, whereas *they* are zealous for the present family? They may have impudence enough to tell us this; but, I trust, we are not yet arrived at that pitch of credulity to believe them. Examine them by their leading principles laid down above, and tell me, if according to them they must not, like the *Jacobite*, consider the expulsion of *James* the Second as unjust, the *revolution* as a rebellion, and all those patriots who were concerned in accomplishing it, as traitors to their lawful prince; whether they must not, to act consistently with themselves, believe the title of the *Stuarts* to remain still in full force,

force, though they are deprived of the possession, and that his present majesty holds the crown contrary to the laws of God. Can we see these persons preferred without uneasiness? Can we weigh their principles, and not suspect their actions? However moderate and averse to party, can we see them entrusted with the power of doing mischief, and for a moment doubt their having inclination to carry it into execution? Can we without concern behold the danger of the constitution, and must we not tremble with apprehensions both for our sovereign and ourselves?

The *Tories* themselves will not, for indeed they cannot, deny that these were the distinguishing marks and governing maxims of those who formerly embraced that party, and some of them may be candid enough to own that they themselves have been actuated by the same principles; but with regard to their present vindication, they scorn to intimate (for it is rather an intimation than a declaration) that their opinions of government are entirely altered; that they have seen their mistake, and, in order to make amends for past errors, are now become willing to take all places and preferments, to prove their regard to the present constitution. For my own part, I must confess myself, in this respect, an infidel, nor can I believe one tittle of this pretence; and it might perhaps have shewn no improper caution in the minister, if he hath the interest of his master so much at heart, as he would have us think, to have had some better proofs of the sincerity of their conversion, before he had bestowed on them such lavish rewards; and to have been well assured that they had laid aside all inclination to do ill, before he had entrusted them with the power of doing it.

With regard to those ever loyal gentlemen, I shall observe farther, either

That they have changed their principles, or,

That

That they are still *Tories*, in their limited sense of the word, or,

That they are still *Tories*, as I understand the word, including *Jacobitism*.

In every one of these respects, let them take which they will, they are not fit to be entrusted with the administration of affairs,

The first of these points is the only one which will admit a moment's doubt. Those who determine at first sight, will naturally say, that, as the principles of the *Tories* were the only objection to their being concerned in the administration, those principles being now changed, the objection of course ceases, and they become entitled to state-employments equally with the most ancient and steady loyalists.

This inference, however specious, and founded on a maxim generally true, will not, I am afraid, hold good, when applied to this particular case. The qualifications necessary for employments in the administration, I apprehend, ought to be real attachment to, and zeal for, the constitution, a strength of understanding which may discover the true interests of it, and an invariable steadiness of mind, in the promoting of them. In the first of these respects, we will credulously suppose that the *Tories* have qualified themselves (those I mean who had occasion to take the oaths) by a total and miraculous change of principles, effected in an instant, without any visible cause, and almost amounting to a new birth. In the second respect, which relates to the understanding, we will generously give them credit; but how then will they stand with regard to the latter qualification? If we acknowledge the sincerity of their conversion, their zeal for the constitution, joined with an amazing understanding, what must we think of their steadiness?

steadiness? What, without any one motive (but those arising from true reason and sound argument, which they had for years rejected) all at once, in a moment, by the strongest sympathy in the world, shift about, profess those doctrines they had exploded, and disavow those principles which they had sucked in with their milk, in which they had been educated, and which, when arrived at what they called years of discretion, they openly gloried in; those principles in defence of which many of their fathers lost their honours, and some their lives! Is such a change as this credible? Can they really have relinquished those hellish tenets, or do they dissemble? If the change is dissembled, what is become of the first qualification of a Statesman, a love of the constitution? If the change is real, what becomes of the latter qualification, that steadiness of mind which alone can make the other of good effect? Can we think our dependence well founded on those men who can so easily take up and relinquish principles, or be well pleased to see power lodged in the hands of those, of whom the most candid must declare, that they are chargeable with levity, that they are lighter than vanity itself? When they professed themselves *Tories*, they attempted to give us reasons for their Political Creed, nay, they pleaded conscience. Why do they not tell us the reasons on which they have changed their faith, and assign some fair methods by which they have satisfied the doubts of conscience? Till they do this, we certainly have an undoubted right to consider their pretended change as a mere piece of finesse, calculated to advance the worst of purposes, or to regard them as men of inconstancy and levity, acting from caprice and not reason; consequently in either of these respects unfit to take a part in the direction of affairs.

To do them justice, however, I shall endeavour to account, not for their change of principles, because I believe those to continue as they were, but for the alteration

teration in their mode of speaking and acting. This I the rather think necessary, because it seems to arise from motives which they may not be willing to avow. I mean ambition and interest, an unbounded desire of such places, as bring in real profit, and afford mock honour. We shall, however, do well to observe here, that though these are strong inducements to them to dissemble their principles, they cannot be of any force to work an honest change in them. Their beautiful pliability indeed, and complaisance to those bewitching tempters, seems to prove more than they would wish, and instead of evidencing a change of principles, declares that they have no principles at all.

If then we are of opinion that they have changed their old-rooted principles merely through caprice and levity, we can have no assurance that they may not as wantonly return to them, with a fresh accession of power and influence to accomplish the subversion of our happy constitution; if they are governed by ambitious and interested views, we can only consider them as persons put up to auction, and always to be sold to the best bidder; if they continue *Tories*, in their limited sense of the word, as it means the friends of despotic government, we immediately see how much their influence ought to be feared by the people: or, if they continue *Tories*, as I understand the word, including *Jacobitism*, how dreadful ought their new-revived power to appear, not only to the people, but also to the sovereign!

NUMB. XXXIV. SATURDAY, JANUARY

22, 1763.

Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
 PUBLICA PRIVATIS fecernere

HOR.

Poetic wisdom mark'd, with happy mean,
 Public and private; sacred and profane.

FRANCIS.

IT is become the fashion to ask, “What have you to say against the present minister? What ill hath he done?” I would answer this question, and, I think, not improperly, by asking another. “What have you to say for the present minister? What good hath he done?” My notion hath ever been, that services should precede rewards, and that places of so high and interesting a nature, should be conferred on those only who had previously given some unquestionable proofs of integrity and ability. The tools of this very great man, and particular the AUDITOR, think all objections to his having the direction of public affairs sufficiently answered by telling us, that he is a man of excellent character in *private life*.

Whether this be truth or not, I neither know nor care; but certain I am, that it is nothing at all to the present point. Private virtues are very often to be found where the qualifications of a public character are wanting. A good man may be a very bad minister; and this observation will justify us in asserting, that *religion* was in a great measure the cause of that prince's fall, whom we now consider as a martyr. To enter into *private life* on this occasion, cannot be serviceable to the cause we espouse, and is by no means agreeable to our inclination; though perhaps, without any violation of candour, we
 might

might disprove the general assertion of venal flatterers, and without any danger from the law, make them severely repent of the challenge they have so often sent us on this head. The only plausible pretence for the minister's holding his present place, is his great *economy* at home: but even here, I am afraid the inference which they would make is not just. We frequently meet with persons who are careful to the last degree of their own money, and lavish, beyond precedent, of what is intrusted to them by others. How far this is the case here, I shall not consider at present; one particular transaction of the greatest moment, which will throw light on these affairs, hath been lately communicated to the NORTH BRITON, and shall in due season be laid before his readers, who will not, he hopes, deem this a vague and wanton assertion, but give that credit to him, which he trusts he has merited from the public, by a faithful and close regard to truth, the great object of all his political enquiries.

One very remarkable reason, for such it is called, assigned to justify the exorbitant greatness of the present minister, is the great care which he exerted to form the mind of his most excellent majesty in his early years. As there is no true Englishman who doth not feel the good effects of our sovereign's virtues, they must all (I take it for granted, and can answer for myself) be highly sensible of the obligation due to those who in any measure contributed to the improvement of them; but I am not yet sufficiently deep in the history of LEICESTER-HOUSE, to be quite certain that the *Favourite* hath any just claim to our acknowledgements in this respect. He had a place there, of no great consequence in itself, and, according to my poor conceptions, wholly unconnected with the business of education; nor amongst the several great names to whom, at various times, this important trust was committed, did I ever hear his lordship mentioned till he became a manager in the state. Taking the fact, however, for granted,

granted, the reward bestowed on him in consequence of it seems much out of proportion, and is of such a nature, as to take him entirely out of that province, to his excellency in which, as we are told, he owes his influence. A very good schoolmaster may make a very indifferent statesman: pedantry is of little service in politics, and I should have a very contemptible opinion of an English administration, who would submit in their several departments to the imperious dictates of an overbearing tutor. I am extremely sorry that I cannot, in this respect, agree with the great Mr. MALLET, *alias* MALLOCK, that ingenious SCOT, who, by the publication of lord BOLINBROKE'S *deistical writings*, formerly endeavoured to overthrow our religion, and at present is doing what in him lies to change our constitution, by advancing such doctrines as strike at the liberties of the people. In the *political poem* of ELVIRA, now acting at Drury-Lane Theatre, are the following remarkable lines:

*He holds a man, who train'd a King to honour,
A second only to the prince he form'd.*

I could much wish to see the work of education more considered, and those to whom it is entrusted better rewarded than they are in general; but cannot by any means agree to this extravagant opinion, even though I could persuade myself that a *groom of the stole* must in good reason mean a *Tutor*; and that to superintend the ornaments of the body is most essentially to adorn the head and heart.

In the best political * pamphlet which has been laid before the public, relative to our present divisions, it is asserted, and I think with great reason, that the unpopularity of a minister, on whatever grounds it is taken up, is in itself a sufficient motive for him to quit the

* *An Address to the Cocoa-Tree. From a Whig.*

the administration; nor would the ministerial hirelings have seriously contradicted this doctrine, if they had once considered, that the consequences of such unpopularity will be the same, whether it should arise from prejudice, or from reason. In the course of this paper, I shall venture to go one step farther, and shew, that there are many other real, fair, and substantial objections to the administration of this *Scot*.

The first is, that he is a *Scot*. Can he help that, say his friends? No, nor can we; I from my soul wish that we could.—But, say they—you cannot impute his country to him as a fault; it is his misfortune.—The misfortune, I am afraid, is ours. In spite of all their specious arguments, I am certain, that reason could never believe that a *Scot* was fit to have the management of *English* affairs. There is something in the very thought which strikes disagreeably, even before we are able to account for our disgust, though on a moment's pause we find reasons enough at hand ready to justify it. A *Scot* hath no more right to preferment in *England* than a *Hanoverian* or a *Hottentot*; and though from the time that the *STUARTS*, of ever odious memory, first mounted the throne, the *Scots* have over-ran the land; yet the countenance shewn to them hath ever been attended with murmurs and discontent. From the *union*, indeed, they have another kind of plea to make, and with much modesty represent to us their undoubted right of enjoying every thing in common with us. That the *union* was designed, however the act may be worded, to put the inhabitants of the most beggarly part of the island, into full possession of the whole, I cannot believe; and if we consult the behaviour of the *Scots* at that time, we shall find they themselves did not then consider it in that very advantageous light. A true *Scot* never opposes his own interest; and if any one of those few amongst them who favoured this *union*, had made it clear that it was for their advantage, the whole nation would unanimously have come into it. Had that spiritual argument been
used

used to them, which had such an effect on the children of *Shechem*, “ Shall not their cattle, and their substance, and every beast of theirs, be ours?” there would have been no hesitation on their side. But the most sanguine amongst them could not encourage such hopes, for they had not yet sanctified themselves by repeated rebellions. The particular post now held by the minister is of all the most liable to exception, as it includes the disposal of places, considerable both for their number and quality; and his behaviour therein justifies the suspicion we had entertained, that none but *Scots* or *Jacobites*, or such *English* as are *Scotticized*, must expect favour or preferment under him.

Besides the objection which lies against the minister from his being a *Scot*, from his glaring partiality to that nation, and contempt of us; from his connexions with the old enemies of our constitution, and supercilious treatment of the true friends of it; from the arbitrary displacing of men, merely because they were too honest to approve his measures, and from the doctrines of arbitrary power, which seem to be once more walking abroad under his protection, our discontent is well-grounded on the late inglorious *Peace*.

The warmest defenders of the *Peace*, on the present plan, seem to abate something of their zeal, and no longer assert it to be adequate to our successes: they only say, that it is necessary for us in our present situation. This doctrine hath been maintained on a public occasion, by a * gentleman of known abilities, who for some time hath exerted the happy and honourable art of speechifying so mysteriously, that no one can find out whether he is for or against the *peace* and the *administration*. Could it be made out that there was an absolute necessity for us to make *peace*, and such a *peace*, I dare not to wag my tongue against those concerned in patching it up; but this point, though frequently asserted, remains yet to be proved, and the trifling pretences,

* *Charles Townshend*, Esq;

tences, which have been offered to the public, want nothing but the slightest consideration to make them contemptible.

One reason still insisted upon to shew the necessity we were under of making peace is, the impossibility of the minister's raising the supplies to carry on the war. This, if true, was a good reason for the minister's quitting his post; but a very indifferent one for his sacrificing the honour of an indulgent master, and the interests of a country not his own, in order to retain it. If there was any difficulty on this head, it did not arise from the thing itself, but from the person; and on his removal, and the appearance of any one in whom the people thought they might confide, it would have vanished of course. But, distrusted, suspected, and hated as he was, there is little ground for making the raising the supplies any plea for a precipitate peace, when a * merchant, *now* of great and fashionable note, as remarkable for *flimsy oratory as dull poetry*, with much confidence assured his noble patron, that however steady the city might appear, they were always to be turned about by throwing in an *eighth*.

On a comparison with our enemies, we had no imaginable reason to make peace. They were totally undone; we had nothing to fear from them, and much was to be got. The time was come when our brave sailors might have reaped the rewards of their dangers, and instead of returning to rust at home in beggary and contempt, might have settled themselves in ease and comfort. FRANCE, we all know, was ruined; her fleets destroyed, her trade at a stand, her colonies in our hands. *Spain*, an enemy at the best little to be feared, had lost that fortress which alone secured to her the sinews of war. This assertion is not without proof. *Pococke*, to whom the nation is bound by the most important services, declared it; we had it delivered to

P

us

us in a place, and by a person which makes the truth undoubted; nay, we seriously and solemnly returned thanks, *by authority*, in our churches to Almighty God, for *having deprived our enemies of the means of war*. In such a situation, what was to prevent a peace adequate to our successes? *The minister*. What was to drive us to the acceptance of such terms as are generally disagreeable? *The minister*. What could induce us to restore our conquests, to put the enemy into a condition of rekindling the flames of war in a short time, and more to our disadvantage? What, but *the minister*. Above all, why allow the right of fishery? Because the *French* would not make peace without it; they held it a *sine qua non*. However fashionable it may be to undervalue that article now, *their* attention to it, if nothing else, demanded *ours*; and, if it is a *sine qua non* to the *French*, that was reason sufficient to make it so with us. But I cannot enough admire that the *French* would not make peace without it. Are the vanquished then to prescribe terms to their conquerors? What did it concern *England* whether *France* called it peace or war, if she was so destitute of force as to be unable to oppose our success and to prevent that commerce, which put the whole world into our hands, though we have generously given so considerable a part of it to her again?

But how would EUROPE have considered this behaviour? Would not the jealousy of other powers have been raised; nay, would not their justice have taken the alarm, when they had seen *England*, drawn unwillingly into a war, cruelly and unnaturally defending herself, and humbling her enemies; most injuriously detaining those places which were honourably conquered, and refusing to restore to her enemies a power of doing her fresh injuries? This I confess to be a material reason for our concluding the war in the manner we have now done, and it ought to warn us never to go to war with any power for the future, till we have first sent
round

round the world to know what places we may keep, if conquered, and what we may not; so that we may not, as now, exhaust our treasures, and, which is more considerable, throw away the lives of our brave fellows, to take places on purpose for a weak or wicked minister to give them up again.

NUMB. XXXV. SATURDAY, JANUARY 29,
1763.

Et quocumque volent, animum AUDITORIS agunto. HGR.

And where they please, the *Auditor* they lead.

I Must confess, that for some time I entertained the fond hope of availing myself, in the discussion of the *preliminary articles of Peace*, of the wonderful political knowledge of the AUDITOR. In his thirty-first number he had begun an excellent set of observations, by printing *Viator's* Letter, relating to *Florida*, exactly in the form which he received it, that he might (to use his own words) *throw all the lights in his power upon the solid value of the advantages procured for us by the late negotiation*: but after having assured us, upon that undoubted authority, that *Florida* is a well-improved, richly cultivated, and populous country, in this auspicious beginning of his career, he unhappily stopt short, and from this incomparable specimen, has left us to regret what such acuteness and knowledge combined, could, but alas! will not, effect for the public. Perhaps, however, I injure him, and we are only to wait a little while till a kind correspondent sends him another letter to blazon in as lively and faithful colours the *solid value* of the bleak and barren deserts of *Canada*. He is so fair, that we

have no reason to doubt but he will give the letter *exactly in the form which he receives it*; and will, perhaps, again pawn his credit to the public for the authenticity and truth of every particular. I hope he will then likewise dwell on the *commercial advantages* which may be drawn from it, as they must surely be equal to the very important one of the *Florida Turf*, that fine, rich vein of trade, just opened by the AUDITOR, to give, as he says, *comfortable fires* to our cold, frozen *West-Indian* islands. May I hope to be forgiven by the * *lord steward* of his majesty's household, who has his master's and his own *honour* ever at heart, and by the first † lord of the *Treasury*, whose love to this nation it tempered with the truest *frugality*, if I should propose a scheme of *economy*, which is of a nature perfectly new to *both*; for it is in no way derogatory from the dignity of the crown, or the safety of the public. I would therefore humbly submit, whether the *pension* which the AUDITOR now enjoys should not be withdrawn, and instead of it an *exclusive charter* be granted to him for this new branch of commerce, the *Florida peet*. He surely deserves it much more than Mr. *Touquet* does a *monopoly* of the trade to the river *Senegal*. That gentleman has just now made this modest claim, though he received his share of *prize-money*, and his usual enormous profit on almost all the goods he sent out, when he contrived to make a *trading voyage* of a warlike expedition. I do not know how both their claims will be relished by the public; but, *being of such a nature*, I should not wonder if they were *supported* by that great patron of modest men, and modest merit, the modest Mr. *Fox*.

This wonderful genius, the AUDITOR, who for the advancement of *political science*, has so happily emerged, though not so pure as I could wish, from his *native bog* of *Allen*, is too grave a politician to *sport on the turf* of *Florida*. According to the *simple* primitive ideas, which

* Earl Talbot.

† Earl of But.

which in the first dawn of life so deeply impressed his *soft*, tender mind, he considers wisely and soberly the real and solid benefits of this *new*, but important, commerce of *peet*, so necessary to the *comforts of life*. To carry on *that* trade, I dare say he would be ready to bargain even for his dear *natale solum*, and would no more scruple to begin a treaty to *sell his country*, than he did to sell himself. At present, he only proposes the *Florida peet at a cheap rate for the lower kind of the planters in our West-Indian islands, to have a comfortable fire in their parlours or bed-chambers*, to which there can be no objection, provided he will first build *chimnies* in their *parlours or bed-chambers*.

As to the *inhabitants* of this *populous* country, it is well known, that *Florida* has been chiefly peopled by *convicts* from *New Spain*. I hope, however, since the *Spaniards* have turned out the most shallow politicians in *Europe*, that we shall not adopt their policy; for I am really unwilling to lose the weekly entertainment of my friends, the AUDITOR and BRITON. They both know so much already of *Florida*, there can be no necessity, though it might be the strictest justice, to send them to a country at present so well peopled with similar geniusses, that (if they are not already expected there) they would undoubtedly be well received by the new excellent subjects we have acquired, and smit with the love of the same *fine arts*, they would *meet congenial, mingling knave with knave*. I do not doubt but our disciple of *St. Omer's*, who is rather the greater genius, would instruct his fellow labourer, the poor BRITON, to throw away his *Scottish* pack of dullness, and in time they would both surpass in perfidy and fraud the most refined Jesuit, who is to be *tolerated* in these new conquests—possibly to read mass to this good *Irish Catholic*. If no untimely end prevents the dullest *play-wright* of our times, he may then at last present us with a woeful *Tragedy*, both *new and interesting*, drawn not from fable

and invention, but founded on his own real adventures, and *hair-breadth scapes*.

Leaving, however, to the ridicule of mankind, this egregious dupe, the AUDITOR *, the most *fond, believing* fool of the age, I shall take a *comparative view* of some of the important articles of *the two negotiations*, in 1761 and 1762; and will, in a summary way, state what is restored to *England* and her allies, and what is yielded to *France*. As to *Spain*, I shall reserve that power for a separate consideration. The first important article, insisted upon by *all* the king's servants consulted in the most secret affairs of government, which has been since RECEDED FROM, is, *that the French shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great-Britain, whether on the continent, or on the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Lawrence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised, saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht. Vide Memoire Historique, p. 52.* Now let us examine the negotiation of 1762. Article the third gives the *French the liberty to fish in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the Subjects of France do not exercise the said Fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, and fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape-Breton, together with the liberty of fishing* and

* The AUDITOR soon gave up the ghost. He died very little regretted by the world in general, but the kindness of the same partial friend and correspondent reached beyond death, and inscribed his tomb with the following lines:

Siste VIATOR,

DEEP in this *beg* the AUDITOR lies still,
His labours finish'd, and worn out his quill;
His *fires* extinguish'd, and his works unread,
In peace he sleeps with the forgotten dead:
With heath and sedge Oh! may his tomb be dress'd,
And his own *turf* lie light upon his breast,

and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland. If the French are as attentive to their own interests, as we have ever found them, I will venture to affirm, that the *Scottish* minister has now made them a grant of the *whole fishery*, and consequently has endeavoured to restore their navy, and to ruin ours.

The state of the islands of *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* is as remarkable. The cession of *Miquelon*, in 1761, was absolutely refused, and the duke of *Choiseul* told Mr. *Stanley*, he would not insist on it. p. 59. Four indispensable conditions are annexed to the cession even of *St. Peter*; but by the *Scottish* treaty in 1762, *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* are ceded in full right, without any one of the four indispensable conditions. No *English* Commissary is now to be allowed to reside there; but our security is the present *French* king's royal word, for there is no kind of engagement whatever to restrain his successor. Such a cobweb tie has been the subject of ridicule to all Europe.

With regard to the indispensable object of *Dunkirk*, which the king (of England) has required, and still requires, p. 51. the town and port of *Dunkirk* shall be put in the condition it ought to have been put in by the last treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The *CUNETTE* was deemed of the utmost consequence to that port, and therefore the demolition was insisted upon. By the last negotiation, Article the 5th of the Preliminaries, the *CUNETTE* shall remain as it now is, provided that the *English* engineers, named by his *Britannic* majesty, and received at *Dunkirk*, by order of his most christian majesty, verify, that this *CUNETTE* is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

As to *Senegal* and *Goree*, Mr. *Stanley*, on the part of the *British* ministry, in 1761, absolutely insisted on keeping both; for that *Senegal* could not be securely maintained without *Goree*, p. 27. and Monsieur *Bussy* was authorised to consent to the cession required by England; so that the exportation of negroes might be confirmed by France, by some expedients equally easy and secure, p. 46. Why

was it not then by the royal word of *England*, since that of the *French* king is deemed so satisfactory, with regard to their not erecting fortifications in *St. Peter*, *Miquelon*, or *Bengal*? *Goree*, of the utmost consequence to the trade and security of *Senegal*, but more important still as a security to *France*, in the supply of negroes for the *French West-Indies*, is unnecessarily and scandalously given up by the *Scottish* negociator.

As to the *East-Indies*, the negotiation carried on by the *English* minister, required that *the perfect and final settlement should be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, &c.* Till the whole was settled, *England* was to keep possession. The *Scot* has given us, in the 10th article of the *Preliminaries*, a most fallacious agreement for *mutual restitutions of conquests*, which certainly includes *Pondicherry* on our side, and nothing on the part of *France*. Every conquest she made, has been retaken, and there is nothing she has now left to restore. Is not this abusing mankind in the most barefaced and unparalleled manner? Are not these glaring marks of a formed design in the new ministry, not only to amuse, but to deceive a brave and honest nation?

As to *St. Lucia*, an object of the greatest importance, the negotiation of 1761, not only refuses it to *France*, but declares the cession *by no means admissible*, p. 53. and the fact is, that it never was yielded till after the *duke of Newcastle* was driven out of the ministry.

Our magnanimous ally, the *King of Prussia*, appears to have been treated by the *English* minister with that good faith, which gives a lustre to any crown, and by the *Scot* with the most unbecoming chicanery, and the meanest, most despicable trick, and low fraud. *The answer of England to the ultimatum of France, in 1761*, says, *As to what regards the RESTITUTION and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the King's allies in Germany,*

Germany, and particularly of *Wesel* and other territories of the King of Prussia, his majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject, in the seventh article of the *ULTIMATUM* of England, viz. that they shall be RESTORED and evacuated, p. 53. The French memorial of the 23d of July 1761, having proposed the keeping possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, the answer returned by Mr. Pitt, in writing, on the 24th, and approved by all the King's ministers, was, *I likewise return you as totally inadmissible, the Memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt on the honour of Great-Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies*, p. 36. The Scottish minister has only stipulated, that France shall evacuate (not evacuate and restore) as soon as it can be done, that is, as soon as the Austrians are ready to take possession of them, the frontiers of *CLEVES, WESEL* and *GUELDRES*, and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia. Article the 13th. In consequence of the latter part of the same article, England must evacuate and in fact restore the three bishoprics of *Munster, Paderborn*, and *Hildesheim*, which amount to 500,000 *l. per annum*. But we are told that the dominions of our great protestant ally are to be scrambled for; for in an august assembly, that was the low, vulgar, and tricking phrase of the Scottish minister. This is a new kind of ministerial language, exactly conformable to the baseness and artifice of a mind capable of planning so despicable a fraud, whose pretended wisdom is nothing but that consummate hypocrisy and mean cunning, which men of real worth, sense, or honour despise, and will ever consider as an alloy, which may, indeed, make the fine ore go farther, but debaseth its worth and purity.

The Prussian ministers have most justly entered a formal protest against the contents of a treaty, no less shuffling with regard to our great ally, than injurious with regard to us. In fact, all our stipulations with

France

France are to *restore*, and the countries belonging to the electorate of *Hanover*, to the landgrave of *Hesse*, to the duke of *Brunswic*, and to the count of *La Lippe Buckebourg*, are to be *restored* by the 12th article. Is the same care taken of *Prussia*?

I shall now only farther observe, that the negotiation of 1761, was carried on while the *Czarina* was alive, the affairs of the king of *Prussia* almost desperate, *Hesse*, &c. in the hands of the enemy, before the conquest of *Martinico*, the *Havannab*, &c. together with the capture of so many capital ships of war belonging to *Spain*. The decided superiority of *England* and her allies, in 1762, was such as might have *commanded any terms*; and therefore *the whole exclusive fishery* ought to have been insisted upon, according to what was *earnestly contended for by lord TEMPLE and Mr. PITT, even in 1761*. The sense of the nation is clear and strong against the present terms of *peace*. Very few *addresses* have been presented, although most of the Lords Lieutenants have had *begging letters*, entreating them to use their utmost influence. The *city of London* refused to *address*, notwithstanding the *private assurances* of 14,000 *l.* to complete the Bridge, with this condition tacked to it. This will be recorded, to their immortal honour, when the descendants even of the *clothiers* and *manufactors of Gloucestershire** shall blush at the stupidity, the high flown nonsense, and servile flattery of their ancestors. That in so prosperous a state of our own affairs, and so promising to our allies, the most ignominious *Peace* was patched up, is now in *us* a matter of just indignation, and *publick spirited opposition* to the *minister*; and, I will venter to say, that our *posterity*, from a true sense of their own sufferings, and of the author of them, will execrate his memory.

* See the Gloucestershire Address.

NUMB. XXXVI. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY
5, 1763.

Præfertim, cùm sit hoc generi hominum prope naturâ datum, uti qua in familiâ laus aliqua fortè floruerit, hanc ferè, qui sunt ejus stirpis, quòd sermone hominum ad memoriam patrum virtus celebretur, cupidissimè persequantur.

Cic. pro Rabir 2.

Especially, as the disposition of this sort of people is almost naturally such, that in whatever family any thing praise-worthy has happened to flourish, that family, those who are of this cast, because the virtues of its ancestors is perpetually in peoples' mouths, they most eagerly persecute.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH I never could be reconciled to the most absurd doctrine propagated with so much zeal by the *Tories*, that there is a *divine, hereditary, indefeasible* right in any family; yet I have remarked many *hereditary* virtues and vices, which seem to have been transmitted, with the family honours, by the father to the son, in a regular succession from age to age. The younger *Brutus*, who delivered *Rome* from the tyranny of *Cæsar*, was descended from the patriot stem of *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who expelled the *Tarquins*. His countrymen were continually making a kind of family claim on him to stand forth their deliverer, and to emulate the glories of his godlike ancestor. The whole race of the *Nassaus* has been renowned for a love of liberty and their country, for superior gifts of understanding, and for the most manly courage. Pride and
bigotry

bigotry have marked the imperial house of *Austria*, equally with the coarse, big lip. I believe there is not one instance where this observation has failed in the male line; and in our time we have seen it hold good in the most *ungrateful* female descendant of a family, which has waged eternal war, against the protestant religion, although they were sworn to tolerate it, and against the liberties and independency of the *Germanic body*, which they were under the strictest oaths to defend.

A sacred regard to the religious and civil rights of mankind, spirit, humanity and valour, have characterised the whole *Brunswic* line. Their competitors, the house of *STUART*, have been ever stigmatised as tyrants and cowards. The country, which gave them birth, has always regarded them in the true light; and the history of *Scotland* shews how little that nation is disposed to submit to any oppressions *at home*, though they have so often endeavoured to establish their own tyrants of this accursed stem, on the throne of *England*. It is *Bayle's* remark, after *Rivet* and *David Blondell*, that of 105 kings, who reigned in *Scotland*, before *Mary Stuart*, there had been three disposed, five expelled, and thirty-two murdered.

The first prince of the house of *Brunswic*, who swayed the sceptre of *Alfred*, gave in many campaigns the most distinguished proofs of personal courage, and true heroism. His great successor at the battle of *Oudenard* put to flight the princes of the blood royal of *France*, and the Pretender. In the next generation, the *Scots* contrived to give the world a fresh and striking proof of the superiority which the house of *Brunswic* has, and will ever, I hope, maintain over that of *Stuart*. At *Culloden* their sons met, but fought not; for the dastardly *Stuart*, at the beginning of the engagement deserted his faithful *Scots*, and fled before the *English* Hero, to whom his illustrious house, and grateful country owe whatever they hold most dear. The rebel was chased from hill to hill, and skulked as an out-law
in

in the kingdom he impudently laid claim to, confiding not so much in the natural strength of the country, as in the hearts of the natives, till at last he made his escape to the old friends and allies of his nation and family, the *French*.

Other families likewise of noble, though not royal, descent, have in a glorious manner followed the great examples set by their ancestors. The Earl of *Devonshire* publicly avowed the inviting over the prince of *Orange* to rescue these kingdoms from the arbitrary designs of a *Stuart*. At the end of the reign of queen *Ann*, that nobleman, and the great *Somers*, were offered up as victims to liberty, by the faction of the *Tories*. Even then, he dared to move the house of Lords for leave to bring in a bill to settle the *Precedence of the most illustrious house of Hanover in Great Britain*. His great descendant, one of the most amiable and unspotted characters of this age, a true friend of liberty and the constitution of his country, we have seen rudely thrust out; and Sir *John Philipps*, who never possessed one spark of the ancient *British* fire, but by an infernal zeal was instigated in the time of the late rebellion to endeavour to procure the glorious *Association* to be presented to the King's-Bench, as an illegal levying of money on the subject without an act of parliament, has been brought into his Majesty's councils. Is it that he may meet there another great *constitutional lawyer*, who, in all his pleadings before the battle of *Culloden*, called his countrymen only the *Scottish Army*, though ever since that decisive victory he has termed them what we did before, *Scottish rebels*? Had the *Association* been deemed illegal, and the rebellion succeeded, Sir *John's* merit with the successor had been clear, and a long life of opposition to every measure of government in the *Brunswick* line, had given him a just title to favour from a true *Stuart*. His principles of justice and legality, with his wonderful gravity, might perhaps have made him *president* of some *high commission court* in *Wales*, and with
the

the aid of other baronets of that country, a *Hanoverian* would soon have been as rare among them, as a true Whig ever was. Perhaps, however, I mistake, and the merit of *Sir John Philipps* with the *Scottish* minister may be, not so much the having opposed the *Association*, nor the kind law advice he gave *gratis* in 1746 to so many of the rebels, as the resuming his bar-gown to plead for another *Scot*, the honourable *Alexander Murry*, Esq; when he was committed to Newgate, by the house of commons, *for a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the house*, of which the *spirited Sir John Philipps* before that time used to give himself out as the undaunted protector.

It is to be regretted, and I make the remark with the deepest concern, that some of the considerable men of this age have not before them that great incitement to virtuous actions, the example of their ancestors. I shall confine myself to one glaring case, because it cannot be disputed. The memory of *Sir Stephen Fox* is not, I believe, so precious to his family, as to have excited any one of his descendants to any one virtuous action. In the debates of the house of Commons, collected by the honourable *Anchitel Grey*, is an account of *Sir Stephen Fox's* infamous bribery of the parliament preceding that in 1679, when the enquiry was made, and the charge brought home to several of the members. *The house being informed of several sums of money paid to some of the members of the last parliament, by Sir Stephen Fox, &c.* Vol. 7. p. 316. *Sir Stephen* at first fenced with them. He alledged, that as he was no Exchequer Officer, there were no footsteps of his payments, and he gave many cunning insinuations, p. 316. However, in the course of his examination, he confessed, *I have paid much money for SECRET SERVICE; but for these FOUR YEARS I HAVE PAID NONE. I have paid it as the king's bounty, and under such other titles, but not as members of parliament*, p. 316. THIS WAS NOT AN EMPLOYMENT I DESIRED. I NEVER SPOKE, nor was adviser;

wiser; but I was directly to issue out money, as I was ordered, p. 318. This confession was not obtained till he had no dependence more upon that unfortunate person now under the obloquy of the nation, p. 317. Mr. Boscawen, one of the members, very justly observed, *If this place, meaning the house of Commons, has been corrupted, it is God's great mercy that such a house had not delivered up the nation to arbitrary government.*

I must, from that caution and circumspection, which I trust the wary NORTH BRITON will ever preserve, and from the hope of preventing malicious applications, declare, that all these quotations solely respect the parliament immediately preceding that of 1679, and have no respect to any subsequent parliament whatever. As to the present Mr. Fox, I should think it almost criminal to suspect him *only* because his father was so deeply concerned in such a scene of villainy; and surely, Tully discovered his own malignity, rather than his knowledge of human nature, when he observed, *hoc ille natus, quamvis patrem suum nunquam viderat, tamen et naturá ipsá duce, quæ plurimum valet in PATERNÆ CULPÆ SIMILITUDINEM deductus est.* It must be admitted that this very Sir Stephen Fox DROVE that mild Scottish prime minister, duke Lauderdale, and almost overturned the machine of government; but surely this can never be set up as an *hereditary right* in Mr. Fox to *drive* the present gentle minister of the North in the way he now does.

I own I cannot entertain any conception of Mr. Fox's being quite so profligate as the ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole represents him, (and in print too) in a *World extraordinary*, addressed to his wife, the right honourable Lady Caroline Fox. Mr. Walpole observes; *His passions are very strong: he loves play, women more, and one woman more than all.*—Is this panegyric? I hope Mr. Walpole meant by the *one woman* Lady Caroline; but surely, this is a most wonderful compliment to be addressed to a gentleman's wife, that her husband loves

play

play and women. His other *passions* we are left to guess. Mr. *Walpole* proceeds to tell us, *I say nothing of his integrity, because I know nothing of it*—nor I neither. I cannot, however, go on as Mr. *Walpole* does, *that it has never been breathed upon even by suspicion*; because Mr. *Walpole* and I know the contrary. He likewise vouches to us that Mr. *Fox* is as bravely sincere as those who take, or would have brutality taken for honesty. I do not quite understand Mr. *Walpole*, and much question if he understood himself. I have no idea of Mr. *Fox's* being bravely sincere; but I really believe him sincerely brave. Mr. *Walpole* is happier in the description of Mr. *Fox's* person. He says, *His bended brow at first lets one into the vast humanity of his temper.* Another painter might, from a slight, transient view of so gloomy, fullen, and lowering a brow, which seems overhung with conceit and superciliousness, have guessed at the dark, crafty inhabitant within, and have presaged, from a most unfortunate scowl, that much deceit and treachery lurked in a black, malignant heart: but Mr. *Walpole* tells us that he has succeeded in drawing the picture, and that his talent is not flattery. I beg, *en passant*, to know what this gentleman's talent is?

Mr. *Fox*, according to Mr. *Walpole's* account, makes his worth open upon you, by persuading you that he discovers some in you; so that all Mr. *Fox's* worth actually consists only in what is truly the worth of others. How much, Mr. *Walpole*, is he really worth?

Very unhappy do I feel myself thus to disagree with so great a judge of men and things, as Mr. *Horace Walpole*. I once before ventured modestly to hint my doubts of the justice of his opinion, that the *Scottish* nation was endowed with a superior partition of sense to the *English*. Mr. *Walpole* in vain will endeavour to prove it from all the unkingly writings of *James the First*; but as twenty-six *Preliminary Articles of Peace*, signed at *Fontainebleau*, in November last, of true *Scottish* manufacture,

manufacture, have since appeared *by authority*, I now give up that point.

With respect to the present *trifling* dispute about Mr. Fox, I submit *that* to the gentlemen of the *Cocoa-Tree*; because they have been so wonderfully enlightened of late as to his great political merit. Mr. Fox has very dexterously cajoled them, and Lord *Bute* has fed *them*, or where the stupid, old *Tory trunk* was almost sapless and rotten, has fed their sons and nephews with loaves and fishes. In the affair of the *Mitchel* election, which was the most sensible thing they ever did as a party, for they shewed their strength as well their venom, Mr. Fox was the constant topic of their virulent abuse; and they are undoubtedly the most foul-mouthed hounds of the whole pack. They never loved the Duke of *Newcastle*, nor can with sincerity love any friend of liberty and the protestant succession; but they then declared that they would support the Duke of *Newcastle* against Mr. Fox, because they had rather have their *pockets* picked by his grace, than their *throats* cut by Mr. Fox. I honour their zeal: *laudo manentem*.

I am, &c.

NUMB. XXXVII. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY
12, 1763.

Repugnante CÆSARE, sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum,
Sullani exempli malum, *Proscriptio*.

VELL PATER.

Against CÆSAR's will, but in vain opposed to two persons, that baneful example of Sulla's was revived, called a Proscription.

THERE is no study more entertaining or instructive than history; nor is any history so applicable to our own government and times as that of ancient *Rome*. We clearly see in it the fatal rocks and shelves upon which a great and flourishing empire was wrecked; and by a careful attention, we may, perhaps, be able to prevent the like danger. The experience acquired from the misfortunes of others, *Polybius* says, is the safest, though the evidence and conviction arising from our own, is the most forcible. To enumerate the various causes of the decline of the *Roman* empire, would far exceed the limits of my paper; it will suffice, that I point out such only as were the principal and immediate forerunners of her slavery and ruin. Where any of the same symptoms of danger shall appear in our own body politic, I will, as becomes a watchful and an honest centinel, communicatè the alarm to all true *Englishmen*, and lovers of their country.

From the annals of *Rome* it appears, that her ambitious nobles, however at times checked by the integrity and wisdom of the *senate*, were still going on to pare off something from the commonwealth. It remained only to beat down that barrier against lawless rule, to bribe, intimidate, and at last to proscribe the most spirited,

rited, experienced, and honest friends of the public. The work of destruction was then compleated. When *Pyrrhus* attempted to corrupt the *senate*, not a single *Roman*, in those days of public virtue and national honour, would take the vile wages of prostitution. The more subtle *alien*, *Jugurtha*, found means to melt their stubborn virtue, and by the dint of *secret service* money gained over a flagitious party to espouse his shameful cause. His exclamation, when he lost the mercenary capital, is well known; *O venal city, devoted to immediate destruction, if thou shouldst find a purchaser!*

In our own memory, there has been a time, when the sum of *twenty-five thousand* pounds issued from a *certain* place, upon a *certain* article, gave too just cause for melancholy reflections. By what magic influence and fascination of mind, was a former parliament induced to gild with gross and fulsome panegyric the infamous treaty of *Utrecht*, whilst the traitors, who made it, were held in utter detestation by the honest and discerning nation? I must desire, professing always a regard to decency, as well as to my own safety that I may not be misunderstood; for there is nothing farther from my intention, than to insinuate that there is the least similitude between the circumstances of last December, and of June 1713.

In this *golden age*, metaphorically I mean, of virtue, who could dare to suppose that we have any thing to fear from that too skilful and sure pioneer, corruption? No: if the minister was wickedly inclined to practise it, there is a person, we all know, who will never be prevailed upon to suffer it. Examine well the present administration; is it not composed chiefly of the choicest patriots, men of long experience in business, and of unshaken loyalty? Have we not at the head of our finances, the *experienced*, the *eloquent*, the *able* Sir *Francis Dashwood*? At the head of our admiralty, that great favourite of the navy, Mr. *George Grenville*? At the head of our *pensioners*, lord *Litchfield*? &c. &c. &c.

They have ever declaimed loudly against *pensions*; they have represented all employments held at the pleasure of the crown, as little better than splendid badges of dependance and abject slavery. We may repose, with entire confidence, on the chaste and scrupulous integrity of the knot of *Tories*, *Scottish* members, and *Scottified English*, who now constitute, by an amazing concurrence of unexpected incidents, the present virtuous majority in parliament. These gentlemen, we must confess, had, in the worst of times, a natural *penchant* and predilection for each others merit. The famous Colonel *Cecil*, of the *Cocoa-Tree*, upon his examination in the late rebellion, declared, that the ministers of *France*, which was then on the point of invading us, expressed the utmost joy at the entire union between the *English* and *Scottish Jacobites*. In these happier days of universal loyalty, how lovingly do they concur, in the support of the prerogative, and of his majesty's undoubted title to the throne of these kingdoms? Must not the *Duke of Choiseul* and the *Marquis of Grimaldi*, as they are become our exceeding good friends, be in raptures, on account of the strict harmony subsisting between the whiggified *Tories*, the torified *Whigs*, and the amphibious *North-Britons*?

The next political battery, employed against the *senate*, was that of *intimidation*. The conjunction of *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassius*, proved much more fatal to the commonwealth, than even their opposition would have been. Under their unconstitutional administration, merit was no recommendation; nor was innocence any protection. All offices and places were given from the motives of interest or party. The wise and honest were driven from all participation of government. *Cato* was sent away for being too virtuous, by that tool of power, the profligate *Clodius* and *Cicero*, for being too able was forced into banishment.

This second engine of despotic power has rarely been played off in *England*, since the accession of the house of *Hanover*.

Hanover. A principle of conciliation and forbearance was the distinguishing characteristic of our two last kings, and of their ministers. To rule by love and not by fear, over free and willing subjects, was judged by them the wisest policy. The present *mushroom* minister, *sprung thus suddenly from a hot-bed*, disdains to walk in that old beaten track. The plan of the *Triumvirate* appears to *him* in every respect preferable. *Oderint, dum metuant* is *his* rule of action. The hatred of the nation *he* despises, provided *he* can operate on our fears. The most eminent lawyers have been feed, to find mistakes and flaws in patents, granted for the security of the liberties of the subject, and which for ages have been esteemed not only valid, but even sacred. *His* insolence and cruelty have put this menacing alternative, *Renounce all ties of honour, consanguinity, and gratitude, or else some sycophant belonging to myself shall have your place.* The secretary * of a certain board, a very apt tool of ministerial persecution, with a spirit worthy of a *Portuguese* inquisitor, is hourly looking for carrion in every office, to feed the maw of the insatiable vulture. *Imò etiam in senatum venit, notat et designat unumquemque nostrum*: he marks us, and all our innocent families, for beggary and ruin. Neither the *tenderness of age*, nor the *sacredness of sex*, is spared by the *cruel Scot*. The *widow* of one of the most meritorious † men of this kingdom, was told her doom; but our *great deliverer*, from the noblest motives of gratitude to his deceased friend, *there* interposed, and saved her from the threatened ruin. Proceedings equally violent and unprecedented, and so highly dangerous in their direct tendency, cannot fail, in time, of becoming the objects of parliamentary enquiry.

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If

* Samuel Martin, Esq;

† Stephen Pointz, Esq; formerly Governor to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

If then *corruption* and *intimidation* had paved the way to arbitrary power amongst the Romans; the invention of *Proscription* by *Marius* and *Sylla*, repeated too successfully by the last Triumvirate, gave the finishing stroke to their expiring liberties. The dictator *Sylla* proscribed two thousand knights and senators, with a cruel joke, that they were all he could just then recollect, but that he reserved the punishment of others till he could remember their names. Satiated at length with vengeance, blood, and power, he gave up his usurped command; and what was indeed extraordinary, the people permitted him to die peaceably in his own bed.

The evil example of this *Proscription* was renewed by the last Triumvirate. At their first meeting the young *Octavius* resisted so inhuman a measure; but, when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled he outstripped them both in wanton barbarity. Historians agree that *Lepidus* was a weak, inconstant man; that he was raised, without the merit of one single virtue, to so high power, and infamously abused the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin of his country and himself. *Mark Antony*, the third Triumvir, is painted to us as a composition of the most furious passions, ambitious, profligate and vindictive. His associates, were pimps, bankrupts, gladiators, and all men of the most infamous characters. The abandoned *Clodius*, and the lewd *Gabinus*, were his bosom friends, and dearest companions. The effects of this fatal coalition are well known. Three hundred senators, and two thousand Roman knights were doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants, their warm and steady support of the cause of liberty. The patriots lost their lives, and with them perished the liberties of *Rome*.

Happy *Britain!* in whose well-poised government such scenes of violence and horror are not now to be apprehended. Happy in a monarch, who crowns all his virtues with lenity and moderation. When the relentless hand of power shall seem to fall too heavy on the subject,

subject, we know to whom the rigour ought to be imputed. The world will place it always, as it does at this particular crisis, to the account of an hot-brained and over-bearing minister; or, not to be unjust, I should make use, I very believe, of the dual number, and lament the tyranny of the DUUMVIRATE. There are but few, I may venture to assert, who do not regard the many late removals of respectable and worthy persons from their employments as a persecution, and indeed, a sort of *proscription*.

The ministers, who club their wisdom and their power in this *chef d'œuvre* of politics, appear in general to the nation in the odious light of *Cossacks*, exercising a domestic *Dragonade*, and looking out for plunder for their creatures and dependants. Of what crime or misdemeanour has the ancient* bulwark of the house of *Hanover*, the faithful and disinterested servant of the great grandfather and grandfather of our most gracious king, been guilty, that not he alone, but all his innocent relations and well-wishers, are marked out to their indignant fellow-subjects as the most outrageous and unpardonable offenders? The public waits impatiently to learn the mighty accusation. Have then his grace, and his most noble friends, been complicated in the foul practice of rebellion? No; that perfidy has never been, nor ever will be imputed to any of *them*; or if they had, such is the extraordinary clemency of these times towards the sons of rebellion, they would undoubtedly have been forgiven. Do we not daily see the families of those, who were deeply concerned in the last desperate attempt to overthrow our liberties and constitution, and to fix the crown upon the head of a Papist, admitted into favour, and even advanced to preferment? What then has the noble *Duke*, with all the victims to ministerial rage, committed? They have ventured to declare, no matter in how decent a manner, their humble

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sentiments,

* The Duke of Newcastle.

sentiments, that, though the work of *peace* was owned to be a most desirable object, yet, that the precipitate and blundering manner, in which it had been conducted, was by no means worthy of a national or parliamentary commendation. If a conduct so moderate and defensible as this; if to differ ever hereafter with an upstart minister, is to be construed as a *crimen læsæ majestatis*; if the giant *prerogative* is to be let loose, and stalk about, to create unusual terrors, and inflict unpractised punishments; if the fiercest thunderbolts of Jupiter are to be launched by a low miscreant against the slightest offence, and even against innocence itself; if the favourite motto of the *North*, the *nemo me impune læssit*, is to be adopted by a minister as the future rule of government in our once happier *South*, we may then boast, as much as we please, of our invaluable liberties, purchased with the blood of our heroic ancestors; but let us watch them narrowly, lest, before we are aware, they should soon depend upon too slight a thread. One consolation, however, is still left us, that so severe an exercise of the *extreme right of prerogative* cannot fail of recoiling soon upon the heads of those impetuous and rash ministers who first advised it. The chariot of the sun, which they have borrowed, will be theirs but for a day. They may, for a short time, endanger our little world; but their own ruin will be the certain consequence. Their fall will be unpitied; their memories for ever detested.

To the NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

“ The AUDITOR made us wait from *Saturday* to
 “ *Tuesday* while he was *hatching* another infamous false-
 “ hood. I affirm that there never was any quarrel be-
 “ tween the baronet in the North, and the gentleman
 “ supposed to be alluded to. The circumstances be-
 “ long to another person, *very lately deceased*,* who gave
 “ the

* *Coulson Stowe, Esq;*

“ the affront, and was afterwards chastised by the baronet. The gentleman was not present at either, though he was at another *election fray* afterwards, and at a few previous, in the same year 1754. The story in the AUDITOR is false.* The baronet himself will do justice to the gentleman’s character in that whole transaction.”

Feb. 9, 1763.

I am yours, &c.

*—THE Gorgónean masque (which is the third lot) is wholly engrossed by Colonel Cataline. I know some people are of opinion, that he does not stand in need of any such assistance, and that he is sufficiently endowed by nature; but I never can think that face his own. The *Fædi oculi*, that vile cast of the eye, and that entire phisognomy, can never be natural. Besides, mere human impudence would be feeble, without a Gorgónean incrustation, and shrink back from the indignant eye of mankind. After being kicked and buffeted by a Baronet in the North, is it possible that he should now dare to talk of men bravely sincere and sincerely brave, while the unatoned marks of infamy are still glowing and tingling on his shoulders, if he were not wrapped in more than tenfold bras? Could a bare face endure the observant looks of that very assembly, to which he resorts for no other purpose, but to mark out one of them for his scurrility on the Saturday following? But of the Colonel I shall say no more at present, being determined to devote an entire paper to so extraordinary a character.

AUDITOR, No. XXXVIII.

N. B. This was the last number of the Auditor.

NUMB. XXXVIII. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY

19, 1763.

Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
Littora.

VIRG.

Driven by fate, a fugitive he came
To *Albion's* clime, and *England's* happy shores.

Dear COUSIN,

WE have heard with infinite satisfaction of the most promising state of our affairs, not only in our *antient* kingdom of *Scotland*, where, indeed, our interest has always been deeply rooted in the hearts of our subjects, but likewise in *England*, where, till of late, we have never been able to entertain any well-grounded hope of recovering our just claims, and regal rights. Every thing, through your benign influence, now wears the most pleasing aspect. Where you tread, the *Tbistle* again rises under your feet. The sons of *Scotland*, and the friends of that great line of the *Stuarts*, no longer mourn. We have had the truest pleasure in hearing of the noble provision you have made for so many of our staunch friends, and of the considerable posts, both of honour and profit, which you have bestowed on them. We no less rejoice at this than at the *Proscription* you have made of our inveterate enemies, the *Whigs*, and the check you have given to that wicked *revolution spirit*, as well as to the descendants of those, who have impiously opposed our *divine, hereditary, indefeasible right*. With this *spirit* we know the title of the family in possession must fall, because it is their only firm foundation, and therefore we thank you for blasting it, and forcing out
all

all who were in any degree thus actuated, or inspired. We thank you too for giving the power to so many of those, whose family estates were nearly ruined by a steady opposition, for almost half a century, to the house of *Brunswick*; and we rejoice to see them begin to revenge themselves on their enemies and oppressors. We hope that no consideration will divert you from your purpose, on the present vacancy, of recommending our noble friend, lord *Elibank*, to be one of the *sixteen peers of Scotland*. We have no small obligations to him, as well as to his brother, Mr. *Alexander Murray*, and to rest of the WORTHY independant electors of *Westminster*. Let not poor Sir *George Vandeput* starve. He and Mr. *Dobyns* the upholsterer, are my two only friends of all the subscribers to that glorious cause, who are yet unprovided for by you.

We lament that our dear country for so many years has been exposed a prey to foreign invaders, and domestic traitors. We made repeated efforts to relieve it from the tyranny of the one, and to secure it from the malice of the other. Our last attempt you were no stranger to, nor to the causes, which rendered it abortive. The former you do not remember. The truth is, they were both formed on a wrong plan, and we inconsiderately undertook to bring about by foreign assistance what can only be effected by domestic union among our friends, and by putting them in a condition to give the law to our unrelenting enemies. This you will best accomplish by creating divisions among these our refractory subjects, which you have most successfully begun. The native courage of our people is such, that they can only be subdued by themselves, and valour is so congenial with their very being, that it remains with them, when heaven has forsaken them, and even permitted them to trample under foot the rites of our holy religion, and to bid our Holy Father defiance. Our dear sister, the apostolic Queen, has justly called them, *ces braves impies*.

We

We never can forget the warm wishes and kind remembrances of our friends in the year 1745, at the *Cocoa-Tree* and at *Oxford*, in a part of our old principality of *Wales*, and almost in all our ancient kingdom of *Scotland*. When that traitor, *John Murray*, a disgrace to the *name* and *family*, impeached so many of our good friends on the trial of *Duke Lovat*, the alarm in our royal breast cannot be expressed. We have read those *proceedings*, set forth by pretended *authority*, with the utmost horror. After the name of one *Welch* baronet, *Sir Watkin Williams Wynne*, our royal tenderness for another made us tremble to think what might have followed, but the noble lord *Talbot* stopped the traitor's tongue, suppressed the rest of the evidence, prudently kept other names sacred from the public ear, and would not suffer the villain to go on to *calumniate* * *the characters of several gentlemen, who were his worthy friends* †. The impartial public, however, did justice to the zeal of the noble lord's *friends* in our cause; and though some of them have, since that unfortunate æra, been more prudent, they have not been less in earnest; and notwithstanding a few short transitory *gleams of court-sunshine*, we shall ever consider them as our own. The *steady* baronet, who, like others of his name, has been preferred for his *wit*, did indeed accept no inconsiderable place under the late usurper, and in consequence renewed the sanction of the most solemn oaths against us; yet his *innate* loyalty never for a moment deserted his *faithful* breast, and even since that time he has encircled his glasses with our *white rose*, and has engraven on them, what is still deeper engraven on his heart, the true orison of the *tories* for the accomplishment of *their* wishes, no less than of *our own*, the comprehensive *FIAT*. We are extremely happy to hear that he is at present in the *Privy Council*; and we do promise, on our

* Vide *Lovat's Trial*.

† In *POPE*----'s reign these fruitless lines were writ,
When *Ambrose Philipps* was preferr'd for wit,

our *royal word*, that he shall be continued in it on our RESTORATION.

The happy progress you have so speedily made to give all power into the hands of *your countrymen*, is matter of true joy to us, and gives us the most promising hopes that they will soon rise superior to all *resistance*, which can be made, either by the obstinacy of those, *who have ever been our enemies*, or by the *new favourers* of a bold intruder on the *indefeasible rights* of our true line, and *unalienable* possessions of our ancient inheritance. They will always be asserted with dignity by our august family, and we are the more assured of it, because another noble *Scot*, our cousin, Lord *Dunbar*, of the loyal stock of *Murray*, when he was *groom of the stole* to his royal highness, formed the mind of our most dear son, CHARLES, prince of Wales, to all virtues, and, above all, to the two princely virtues of our race, strict *economy* and exemplary *piety*. We have already given the *green ribband* to this distinguished friend of our son, but we have gracious intentions of bestowing on him likewise the GARTER, *should it not interfere with any of the blood royal of Stuart*.

We thank you for the favours you have shewn to so many of our friends, whom we have seen in our exile. We retain the most lively sense of the professions of attachment, which we personally condescend to accept at our court here from so many of the *old interest*. We have reason to be satisfied with more than one *Dashwood*; and we enjoin you to go on to heap your favours on all *that party*.

Yet, dear cousin, we must acquaint you, that your friends here are unanimously of opinion, that in some things you have deviated from that regard to your own interest, and prudent attention to your own power, which seem in general to have governed your conduct. You have too soon dropt the masque. You have not justly weighed the true temper and dispositions of our enemies about you. They have acted towards our pre-
decessors

deceffors like wanton boys, tugging at the end of a rope, who will not defist till they find it flackened by him who holds the other end, and then they are content to let it go. The experience of this was happily made by our *uncle*, but most unfortunately neglected by our *father*. Do not aim too soon at the *ministerial despotism* we know you have in view. You may, by too large strides, miss your footing; and if you do, *we* are irrecoverably undone, and *your* fortunes will have a tragical end. The annals of *Scotland* are already more stained with blood, than those of any country in *Europe*, and horrid butcheries disgrace every page of her history.

If ever you are pressed to give your assent to an enquiry into the past management of the public revenue, avoid the yielding to it as long as possible: it will fatally *recoil* on yourself. If you are at last forced to give up the point, boldly promise a *commission* of all public accounts. You may afterwards swear that you only engaged for a *committee*, and never thought of a *commission*. The *poor creature*, who will seem so very earnest in it, will be easily duped. Perhaps indeed he will desire to be duped. You may make the most pompous professions of the sacredness of your promise at the very moment you are violating it. The house of *Stuart* has always claimed, and exercised, a *dispensing power*, as to promises, oaths, and vows; and you are indeed, dear cousin, full blood to us. If there is any one, whom you allow, as your *factor*, to share in some degree your power, instruct him not directly to oppose it, but let him endeavour to postpone it to another year, *for all the accounts of the war will then be closed*. Let him urge that *it should not now be gone into, nor should a negative be put upon it*. The *evil day* should be put off both from you and *him*. If, however, it must come on, give good salaries to all those, who shall be named to take the public accounts. This will nobly protract it, and you will be able to provide for a *nest* of our old friends,

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the *Tories*, till they are all *gently wasted* into places of ease and profit.

We have deeply meditated on the public *odium* which has ever pursued you. We must tell you that this has not been the pique of a senseless and outrageous multitude, nor a flame raised by the breath of private whispers. It has arisen from the indignation of the *wisest* and *most virtuous* of our people, who have lamented your incapacity, but have abhorred your *guilt*, and blushed at the *dishonours* which they have cursed you for their being reproached with among the nations of Europe. You ought, dear cousin, to reflect that the party which opposes our interest, is great in numbers as well as in rank and fortune. Their abilities too are incomparably superior to those of *our friends*, their experience in every department of public business much greater, their characters more respectable, and their persons favoured by all, but those whose principles in government are the same with *yours* and *ours*, and in religion differ but little from us. The subordinate ranks among them must, as yet, be considered as a part of the community not safely to be depended upon, till it please heaven to subdue their minds to a perfect and ready submission to a superior power, and to quell that high, uncontrollable spirit of liberty, which the *English* dare to claim as their birthright, and in every age endeavour to make their first distinguishing characteristic.

As to the *military*, you are desired, dear cousin, to make it as numerous as possible. There will be ample provision for your *needy countrymen*, who are so devoted to *you* and to *us*. Never regard the finances of the country. First consider your own safety. This is the more necessary as you do not know how soon all may be insufficient to protect you from an enraged multitude.

As you have the command of every thing, deal out the most boundless largesses, yet preach up œconomy, and in all trifles, practise it; however never cease parading on every article. Abuse likewise all your predecessors,

fors, and extol yourself as the model of all virtues. Your creatures are bound to believe, and to propagate that faith.

Our royal house has been long wedded to calamity, and we have drank deep of the cup of bitterness. The frowns of heaven have been severe upon us. The solemn curse of the first of our family, who ascended the throne of *England*, seems still to hang upon us: *If I spare any that are found guilty, in the case of Somerset, whom he did spare, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever.* Every attempt for our relief has, as in consequence, been said by heretics to have *providentially* miscarried. A gleam of hope at length breaks upon us; for though the usurper at present *has got our crown, he has got all our ministers too.*

*Given under our sign manual and privy signet, of the
THISTLE, at our court at Rome, the second day of Ja-
nuary, in the sixty-third year of our reign.* J. R.

Countersigned JAMES MURRAY.

NUMB. XXXIX. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY
26, 1763.

Ante hæc durissima tempora reipublicæ nihil aliud unquam ob-
jectum est, nisi crudelitas illius temporis. CICERO.

Before those very bad times, nothing else was ever objected but
the cruelty of that age.

THERE is a great resemblance between the his-
tories of most nations, whose forms of govern-
ment are nearly similar. All the free states of *Greece*
experienced the same kind of internal convulsions, and
their final destiny was the same. The resemblance be-
tween

tween particular periods of history, in different states as well as in the same body politic, is sometimes remarkably striking. There are few passages in the *Roman* history but find their exact parallels in our own. *Oliver Cromwel* plays the same poor farce (and acts it as ill) in his refusal of the crown from a committee of parliament, as *Julius Cæsar* had before done on a like offer from *Mark Anthony*. The comparison of particular periods of the history of the same nation is still more just, and an argument may be drawn from it with more truth and precision, because it is founded in the genius of the people, and the form of the government.

I must own, that at present I am struck with the close similitude between the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign, and the present times. The nation was then in a war with *France*, which had been carried on with amazing success, and indeed, very little remained to be effected to reduce that exorbitant power, which had threatened the liberties of mankind, within the most moderate bounds. All these just and glorious hopes were blasted by the infamous *peace of Utrecht*, which completed the disgrace of the sovereign, and the dishonour of *England*; for it was attended with ignominy to ourselves, and with the most shameful breach of faith to our allies. We have lately been engaged in a war with the same power. It has been carried on with, at least, equal glory; but for all our blood and treasure, we have only the wretched present of the *preliminary Articles of peace signed at Fountainbleau*, with a promise that the gross faults which have been pointed out to an ignorant minister, and which would have disgraced a *Tartar*, or a *Sclavonian*, should be amended. THIS HERE lord-mayor* of London, in an elegant and masterly speech, publicly declared, *that the present Peace was in every respect more infamous than that of Utrecht; and that he was ready to prove THAT THERE peace was LESSER to*

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* *William Beckford, Esq;*

be found fault with. He did accordingly, from the duty he owed to his fellow-citizens, and from his steady, admirable uniformity of conduct, summon a common-council expressly on that great occasion, to explain and enforce with patriotic zeal the important cause of their meeting, and propose an address to the Legislature, to stop in time the progress of so alarming a negociation, founded on the strong evidence of the *preliminaries*. This was his clear duty, and this he nobly discharged. The city must ever with gratitude look up to him for taking the lead in so manly a way, as became their first magistrate, thus called upon in such a cause, by that love of his country, which in him still rises superior, unshaken and unseduced by all the *arts* and *caresses*, as well as by the *lavish promises*, of courts and ministers. Great in himself, and in a legion of public and private virtues, he despises all *honours*, as the vile traffic of courts, nor has he a wish to change a *title* only *temporary*, for one *hereditary* and *perpetual*. He will therefore, never lend himself to *prop* the minister who made this *infamous peace*, as he terms it; but will, I am persuaded, continue steady, indefatigable and animated in an opposition to him.

As the two *Treaties* are so much alike, there is also a wonderful similitude between the *two ministers*, who fabricated the two treaties; the *lord High-Treasurer*, and the present *first lord of the Treasury*. The true reason with both was the preservation of their own power. The ostensible reason to the public has, in both cases been the same, and equally false, that the nation was not able to carry on the war. The *earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer*, opened his plan of power, and drew in the enemies of the constitution to support him, by abusing the *revolution*, and its great author, *king William*. The present minister has been equally industrious in procuring the vilest hirelings to revile the *good old king*, and all whose families brought about the *revolution*, and who have steadily supported the family on the throne

throne against the Pretender. It is remarkable that only at one period of her reign, at the beginning of 1708, when the *queen* was alarmed by the arrival of the Pretender at *Dunkirk*, and the preparations made for his landing in *Scotland*, the *revolution* was mentioned in terms of approbation, and the friends of it, in that day of danger, were considered as the only firm security of the throne. In the answer to the address of the house of lords, the queen says, "I must always place
 " my chief dependence upon those, who have given
 " such repeated proofs of the greatest warmth and con-
 " cern for the support of the REVOLUTION, the security
 " of my person, and of the protestant succession." How thoroughly *Scotland* was at that time tainted with *Jacobitism* quite through, even to its *rotten core*, a famous *Scottish* historian shall tell. *Lochart of Carnwarth*, in his *Memoirs*, p. 343, says, "People of all ranks were
 " daily more and more persuaded that nothing but the
 " restoration of the Royal Family, and that BY THE
 " MEANS OF SCOTSMEN, could restore them to their rights:
 " so that now there was SCARCE ONE OF A THOUSAND
 " that did not declare for the king, (*anglicè the Pre-*
 " *tender*) nay, the Presbyterians and the Cameronians
 " were willing to pass over the objection of his being a
 " papist; for, said they, according to their predesti-
 " nating principles, God may convert him, or he may
 " may have protestant children." And again, in p. 344, "On ALL occasions, in ALL places, and by ALL
 " people of ALL persuasions, nothing was to be heard
 " throughout ALL the country, save an universal de-
 " claration in favour of the king," that is, the *Scottish* king. One of the first addresses to his present majesty, from the most eminent in the opposition to his family, makes his majesty's *hereditary* right the *only* principle of their loyalty.

Another topic of *their* abuse has been our allies. In the queen's time the odium fell on the *Dutch*: in our own, on the king of *Prussia*. The same reason was

equally strong in the two cases; for both warmly concurred in the support of all our measures against the common enemy, *France*.

When that *Earl Mortimer* had in effect seized the crown, he removed the two most eminent persons who ever appeared in their different stations, the duke of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*. *Burnet* says, “the
“ wise management of the one at home, and the glori-
“ ous conduct of the other abroad, one would have
“ thought, would have fixed them in their posts above
“ the little practices of an artful favourite, who had
“ not shewn any tokens of a great genius, and was only
“ eminent in the art of deluding those that harkened to
“ him.” *That Earl Mortimer* drove from his sovereign’s councils all the great and eminent men of that reign. He turned out most of the *lords lieutenant* of the several counties, and removed almost *all* the *Whig justices of the peace*. We too have seen several of the first characters among the *English* nobility removed from being his majesty’s *lieutenants* in several counties. There is yet no alteration as to the *justices of peace*. The change in those commissions is reserved for a change in the possession of the Great Seal, which is at present in the hands of an *Englishman*.

That Earl Mortimer removed a considerable number of the *Whigs*, and the friends of the *revolution*, and gave their places to professed *Tories*, and to the enemies of liberty. The present minister has made almost a total resumption of all the appointments to places in the hands of the *Whigs* whom he disliked, and has ruined many families, who have no other guilt than the being put in by the friends of the late *truly patriot* king. A nature so unrelenting, and a temper so despotic, were never before seen and felt in a first minister of this country.

As soon as *that Earl Mortimer* had effectually secured his interest with the *Queen*, he kept her in a state of imprisonment, and suffered none, but his own creatures,

to be about her person. The sovereign was then actually in a state of thraldom, and what is infinitely the worst kind of slavery, was held in a captivity of the understanding. The royal mind was enslaved in the most wretched manner; yet *that Earl Mortimer* had the impudence to assert, that he had only freed his sovereign from the chains of the old ministry. Have not the two venal scriblers of our times, the BRITON and the AUDITOR, perpetually declaimed, that the late ministry only resigned, because they could not controul and govern their master?

That Earl Mortimer got privately into the palace by means of one bad, ungrateful woman, Mrs. *Masham*; and in a short time compleated his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign. Here I do not find the least similitude.

As the view of both ministers has undoubtedly been the same, the preservation of their enormous power, both have made use of the same apt instruments. Their tools were the *Tories*, and all the revilers of the *protestant succession*.

That Earl Mortimer having got entire possession of the heart of his sovereign, and the power of the crown being, as it were, delegated to him, he employed it to purchase and to secure a majority of the two houses of liament. Thus in effect he obtained the sovereignty of three kingdoms, and kept his power by distributing the revenue of the *civil list* to some, by giving places to others, and by creating twelve new peers at once. Since *October* 1760, seventeen new *peerages* have been created, nine additional *lords*, and an astonishing number of *Tory grooms of the bedchamber* have been made; every *obsolete, useless* place has been revived, and every occasion of encreasing salaries has been seized with eagerness. That great reformer of abuses, the new *Whig* head of the board of trade, has just condescended to stipulate for an additional salary *without power*, as the price of his support of this *Tory* government. In all these cases how-

ever, *merit* has been the sole motive. Here again we do not find the most distant resemblance. The *corruption* under the Queen's *Tory* administration was so flagrant, that they had greatly overdrawn the *civil list*, and the venal parliament of 1713, was easily brought to vote 500,000*l.* which was given to pay off the debts of corruption, contracted in that short, infamous period. This was the boasted œconomy of the most ignorant, and incapable set of men, who ever pretended to the direction of the public business. The *Whigs* had managed the *civil list* so well, that the Queen had for several years given 100,000*l.* towards the expences of the war, had contributed 120,000*l.* to the support of the poor *Palatines*, and had laid out above 200,000*l.* in the building of *Blenheim-House*. Yet, by their wise management the *civil list* was more than adequate to those expences of government, for which it was given. The *civil list* was so ill managed by the *Tories*, that very unfairly at the end of a session, the Queen was brought to ask 500,000*l.* of her parliament, which these *frugal* dispensers of the public treasure *precipitately* and *eagerly* voted; for they knew that it would soon find its way among them. They were ever puzzling at the public accounts, pretending great abuses, yet, though invested with the fullest powers, had never the capacity of detecting even the *smallest*, which must creep into offices.

The present *civil list* exceeds that in the Queen's time, by 200,000*l.* I have not heard that any part of it has been given towards the great expences of this war; and I have heard of most wonderful savings in the articles of *beef* and *pudding*, *candles* and *coals*, &c. &c. &c. I believe that 118,000*l.* of the late King's *civil list* has been received since the demise of the crown. I am therefore satisfied that the report of a speedy application to parliament, grounded on the distress already pretended to be felt, can have no foundation; because I am satisfied that there has been *no corruption* in this virtuous reign, in which it has been so openly and warmly

warmly disclaimed. Even at its commencement a declaration was made, that not a “ shilling should be
 “ issued to serve any sinister purposes of government,
 “ nor to give any undue influence. Every man was
 “ now to be left to act and to vote according to the
 “ dictates of his own conscience: no menaces would
 “ ever be used, no punishments, no sufferings be known.
 “ The crown has nothing to ask of the people, but to
 “ follow their own interest, which, in this patriot reign,
 “ would be left to them to discover and to pursue,
 “ unbiassed, uncorrupted.”

That Earl Mortimer was educated in the religion of the *Kirk of Scotland*, and passed his youth among the *Presbyterians*. He afterwards put himself at the head of the *Tory* faction, and gave into the most slavish doctrines of the *indefeasible* rights of the crown, and the immense extent of the *prerogative*. Is there not the strongest parity of circumstances in our time, both from the minister, and all those who have wrote under him? When has the *prerogative* of the crown been founded so loud?

When *that Earl Mortimer* had securely, in his own imagination, established his power, he threw off all regard to his sovereign; and knowing that the *Whigs* and the *Hanover* family would never suffer his tyranny, he endeavoured to sacrifice his gracious mistress rather than forfeit his own power, and actually formed a scheme to repeal the *Act of Settlement*. The death of that princess, the last *weak* remnant of the unhappy house of *Stuart*, frustrated his designs, and prevented a slavish *Tory* faction from restoring arbitrary power. One anecdote on this occasion ought to be transmitted to posterity. The legal successor, his Majesty's great-grandfather, was then absent from the kingdom. No man but a *Scot* was enough tainted with treason, to offer his service to proclaim the Pretender, in the *English* capital, at noon-day, on the *Royal Exchange*. This *George Keith*, late *Earl Marischal* did. He was afterwards attainted

of *high treason*, and during the two last reigns, to elude the justice of his country, he lived abroad. He at all times openly declared himself a subject of the pretender, and publicly affronted the *English Ambassador*, at *Paris*, in the most mortifying manner, because it was before an infinite number of our inveterate, insulting enemies. The late King, from his great clemency, did indeed pardon him; but this noble, *loyal* countryman of the minister, has in the present reign obtained near 12,000 *l.* out of the purchase-money and interest due to the public for certain parts of his estate. I have stated the grant accurately; for though the public was duped by the idea which went forth, that it was only a grant of 3,618 *l.* 9 *s.* 0 *d.* yet, it was expressly mentioned, that *that* sum should bear interest from *Whitsunday*, 1721.

I shall conclude with one very short remark. On the death of *Queen Anne*, the political barometer of the stocks *rose*: on the death of the late excellent King, it *fell*.

NUMB. XL. SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1763.

Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privatâ gratiâ devictum. SALLUST.

Thus the public good, as generally happens, is borne down by private interest.

THE following memorial shall speak for itself. The memorialist has been long disappointed by the board of *treasury*, and instead of redress, finds even the *spirit of enquiry* so low, that he at length despairs of an examination into the merits of his case. He has therefore

therefore a right to state it, first to the *twenty-one chosen* sons of virtue, and next to the *public* at large. The NORTH BRITON, who will ever make his appeal to that respectable tribunal, gives him the opportunity. What a shallow pretence to the least *reformation of abuses*, or to any degree of *economy*, the *first lord of the Treasury* has, is apparent from the little attention paid to this memorial. Is the *clear head* of the *chancellor of the Exchequer* too so *puzzled* with the public accounts, or the *new tax*, that he cannot give one hour to justice and to a gentleman, who declares himself highly injured? I hoped that business would now have been conducted *in another guess kind of a manner*; for I borrow his favourite mode of expression. From the warm approbation which the *tax on dogs* had publicly from him the last year, I thought every thing had been long ago settled for this session. He was then no less serious than eager for it. If that *tax* is not now sufficient, let him speak out; for, to be sure, his views are *more* extended; *not that he's wiser, but he's higher*. Suppose he adds *ducks*, the *lame ducks* in the *alley* excepted; and I appeal to the clergy, if this *dog-and-duck* tax would not be as good as his humane plan of selling all their livings, or any other of his many *practicable* schemes.

As to the *memorial*, I shall only say, that no enquiry has been made, and that Mr. *Pownal* is still continued. With respect to the *letter* mentioned in the *memorial*, I should guess that it was at the time suppressed from the *Treasury*; or, perhaps, in violation of every rule of *honour*, and of every right of *office*, with papers of the utmost moment, conveyed away to a patron very similar, and worthy of him, by the most treacherous, base, selfish, mean, abject, low-lived and dirty fellow, that ever *wriggled* himself into a * secretaryship.

The affair is of real moment, not only for the vindication of the characters of the gentlemen concerned, but for the good of the service. A luxurious, pampered

pered *Englishman* may indeed exclaim, *What! OATS! OATS! a paper on OATS! Is it from Brobdignag? Have the BRITON and AUDITOR died for this?* Like captain Lemuel Gulliver, *fullen he turns from both, and calls for OATS.* We *North Britons*, however, know the *importance* of the subject, and the delicacy of the food; for *Pensioner Johnson*, in his *Dictionary*, says very truly, *OATS, a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.*

To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

The MEMORIAL of JOHN GHEST, late an Inspector of his Majesty's magazines in Germany:

Most humbly represents,

THAT in May, 1761, your memorialist having been at *Bremen*, in order to attend his duty as an inspector of his Majesty's magazines, was appointed by colonel *Peirson*, to put a stop, as far as in your memorialist lay, to the many and frequent abuses there in practice, in sending bad and damaged *oats* up the river *Weser*, for the use of his majesty's army.

That your memorialist, having applied himself with zeal for his majesty's service, and used his closest attention and utmost endeavours to correct and prevent the aforesaid pernicious abuses, was so fortunate as in a great measure to put a stop to the same; which gave umbrage to several persons there, who had views and interests in such practices, very remote and different from those of your memorialist: and your memorialist's conduct therein was so clear and manifest, and the services which he rendered were such, that the said colonel *Peirson*, on the first day of July, writ a letter to your memorialist, wherein are the words following: *viz.*

“ I approve very much of what you have been doing, *for bad oats must upon no account be sent from thence*; I shall write to the major to-day in the strongest terms, that he does not attempt to send *any thing that is not perfectly good.*”

as by the said original letter, in your memorialist's hands, ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That your memorialist, having a few days after discovered, that a considerable quantity of bad and damaged *oats* was loaded on waggons, by private traders of *Bremen*, with a design to be transported for his majesty's army, he stopped the same, and prevented the transport thereof, and by that means put a stop, for some time, to that pernicious practice among those traders, and having reported to colonel *Peirson* his proceedings, and the steps he took in the discharge of his duty, and the trust reposed in him, the said colonel *Pierson*, by his letter, dated *Nord Denker*, the fifteenth of July aforesaid, writes to your memorialist in the following words, *viz.*

“ I approve very much of what you have done, in stopping the transport of bad oats to the army. It certainly is comprehended within *your duty*, which *is to be as extensive as possible, in the prevention of any bad arriving here.*”

as by the said original letter, of the proper hand-writing and signature of the said *colonel Pierson*, ready to be produced to your lordships, may also more fully and at large appear.

That your memorialist, by a perseverance in his duty, in opposing and preventing the transport of many quantities of bad and damaged oats, having, as he has just reason to believe, given uneasiness and disappointment to several who were interested in sending bad oats to the army;

army; they found ways and means, by their sinister and underhand contrivances, to cause to be removed from *Bremen*, about the twelfth of September following, a lieutenant, with a command of some dragoons, who had been stationed there, in order to compel the skippers to prepare their vessels with dispatch to take in grain &c. for the army, and had assisted your memorialist in the execution of his duty: and without such aid your memorialist could not effectually continue to put a stop to said fraudulent proceedings.

That your memorialist, finding himself deprived of the said assistance, and seeing the practice renewed of sending away bad oats for the army, about the end of said September, he made a representation thereof to *Michael Hatton*, Esq; late commissioner-general, then arrived at *Bremen*, who would not pay any regard thereto: and in some days after, your memorialist made a like representation of the aforesaid abuses to lieutenant-colonel *Pownal*, then also arrived at *Bremen*; who, in answer thereto, bid your memorialist go on as he had done, and added these words, “ You shall be backed, well “ backed:” which gave your memorialist reason to apprehend and believe, that he should have a sufficient number of men assigned him, to prevent said abuses; but the said Mr. *Pownal* never thought fit to appoint any one person to assist your memorialist, in pursuance of his promise as aforesaid.

That a person named *Uckerman*, who was greatly interested in sending bad oats to his majesty’s army, and who has made an immense fortune by such commerce, having soon after the said Mr. *Pownal*’s said promises to your memorialist, laid a considerable quantity of bad oats on board vessels, with a design to transport the same for the army; your memorialist made a report thereof to the said Mr. *Pownal*, who, instead of preventing the same, gave your memorialist, to his great surprize, the following order and authority, in his own proper handwriting and signature, to wit:

“ As

“ As I see nothing in your report to occasion my
 “ detaining the four vessels laden with *oats*, as therein
 “ specified, *I think you may certify, that as they are,*
 “ *though not good, and such as ought to be passable, they*
 “ *may pass up to the army.*”

Signed, *T. Pownal*, first commissary of controle.

To Mr. Ghest, *king's inspector*
of magazines, Bremen,
 Oct. 9, 1761.

as by the original in your memorialist's hands, ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That on the next day, your memorialist made a report to the said Mr. *Pownal*, of another quantity of the said *Uckerman's* bad *oats*, in vessels, ready to be transported for the army; which report was in the words following:

“ Upon inspecting forty lasts of Mr. *Uckerman's*
 “ *oats*, in two of *Harm Hanning's* vessels, I find that
 “ the greater part thereof consists of various sorts of
 “ bad *oats*; some red, having been burned, others
 “ grown, and the grain exhausted; others blue,
 “ which never were any thing but shell: and the
 “ whole having a great deal of chaff and dirt in it.
 “ *Bremen, Oct. 10, 1761.* Signed, *John Ghest*, Inspec-
 “ tor; and directed to lieutenant-colonel *Pownal*, &c.”

That the said *Uckerman*, having made an application to the said Mr. *Pownal* to pass said *oats*, the said gentleman had a further examination made of the same by two grooms in the presence of his first clerk; who finding that said *oats* were very bad, did not fail to confirm your memorialist's said report.

That

That notwithstanding all this, the said Mr. *Pownal* very soon afterwards permitted those very oats to be sent up for the army; and never after suffered your memorialist to inspect any of said *Uckerman's* oats.

That said Mr. *Pownal*, having left *Bremen* about the twenty-third of November, left at the same time a free passage up the *Wefer*, for the transporting of all said *Uckerman's* bad oats, without obstacle; which said bad oats had been rejected by your memorialist: and also, great quantities of the like bad and damaged oats, that had been provided for the army by one *Mamberg*, and were not fit for use; (which the said Mr. *Pownal* well knew, by a report made to him thereof, by persons employed by him to examine the same in the presence of a public notary, a copy of which said report is in the hands of your memorialist, ready to be produced to your lordships) and likewise many ship-loads of the like, which afterwards came up the river. So that your memorialist has had the mortification to see his efforts for his majesty's service rendered abortive; and his good services and endeavours for the public good have been since recompensed by the said Mr. *Pownal*, upon his return from *England* into *Germany*, with a paper, containing a dismissal in writing from his majesty's service, in the words following, *viz.*

Bremen, May 18, 1762.

“ Sir, by virtue of the power and authority vested
 “ in me, I do hereby acquaint you, that I have no
 “ further occasion for your services, as an Inspector,
 “ and that your pay ceases from this day, of which
 “ you will hereafter take notice. I am, Sir, your
 “ obedient servant.”

Signed, *T. Pownal*, director of the office of controle.

To Mr. *Ghest*, at *Bremen*.

That

That your memorialist most humbly hopes, and fully apprehends, that his conduct and endeavours in his majesty's service, will appear fair and unblemished; and that the said dismissal is without any foundation of any charge, or colour of any crime against him.

And here your memorialist, with the greatest submission, begs leave to say, that he has undoubted reason to believe, that his said dismissal has been owing to a letter, written by him on the 28th of November, 1761, to *Samuel Martin*, Esq; wherein your memorialist gave intimation of the misconduct of the said *Mr. Pownal*; and to no other real cause: and that your memorialist is the more persuaded thereof, from a declaration made by the said *Mr. Pownal*, in a public company, on the very evening when first he declared his dismissal to your memorialist; expressing, that your memorialist had writ something to this right honourable board, which might have done him much harm; as your memorialist was well informed by a gentleman of veracity then present: a procedure that will never escape the just and equitable observations of your lordships.

That your memorialist, from the motive of a zealous regard for the good of the public, left *Bremen* with his family, at a great expence, in order to lay the aforesaid facts before your lordships.

All which he most humbly submits to your lordships.

NUMB. XLI. SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1763.

Carpent tua poma nepotes.

VIRG.

Posterity shall pluck thy fruits.

I SHALL not this week touch a single drop of Sir Francis*—*Dashwood's cyder*. I will leave it all till he has gauged the *bogshead*, and has found how many *gallons* it contains. When he has learnt a little of his lesson, I may perhaps condescend to argue on the new taxes, *wine* and *cyder*, with the *chancellor of the exchequer*, who by the confession of his own board, as well as of the rest of mankind, now stands forth the most confused, most incapable, and most ignorant of all, who ever *accepted* the seals of that high office. I shall perhaps too expostulate with him, how very unkind and ungrateful he is to his two old friends, the *grape* and *apple*: but they have already been amply revenged on him. *Rode, caper, vitem, tamen, &c.* A disgrace seems to be intailed on these unsocial attacks, and all the genial powers conspire to frustrate them. *Eloquence* and *wit* take the alarm, fearful of losing the advantages of an old *amiable union* with *such* friends. *Wit* points its keenest arrows, and the noble tide of *eloquence* bears down the poor creature who made the *feeble* attack. He remains *a little while* an object of pity, and is then consigned over to eternal oblivion †.

At present I shall quit this comic scene to do justice to a very ingenious correspondent, who has sent me the following letter:

T O

* See *Vanbrugh's Journey to London*.† In the following month Sir Francis *Dashwood* resigned the *Seals*.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I WAS surpris'd the other day with a visit from an old acquaintance, whom I had not seen since the year *forty-five*. He had been outlawed on account of his engagements in the last *rebellion*, and was just returned from abroad, where he had remained ever since that memorable æra. He was a true BRITON, and a zealous lover of his countrymen. He had lately sent for his youngest son from the Highlands of *Scotland*, to receive *national* preferment under a truly BRITISH administration. I could not help enjoying the satisfaction of mind, which appeared in my old friend's countenance, on having now settled all his family to his utmost wishes; for he told me that this young gentleman was assured of particular favour and advancement under the present government, I would say administration; and the five patriot heroes, his brothers, were already provided for in the service of him, whom we call the PRETENDER.

As the boy, who appeared to be about eighteen, was but a raw *child*, and seem'd entirely ignorant of every thing on this side of the *Tweed*, I thought I could not spend the day better, in respect to his amusement, as well as my own, than by attending young maister *Macdonald*, in the quality of *Ciceroni*, to shew him the sights about this great metropolis. This scheme tallied exactly with my friend's business, who was oblig'd to wait on his patron at a certain hour, in order to return him thanks for his son's near promotion; and at the same time to solicit his Lordship for a vacant place in the Treasury for his brother, or in the Post-office for his nephew, or in the Exchequer for his cousin, or in the Custom-house for his cousin's cousin, or any where for any of his countrymen. All which, his *known* attachment to his patron, his loyalty to *his* king, and love

to *his* country, gave him sufficient reason to expect from a minister who makes it his pride, as it is his declaration, to encourage merit wherever he finds it—except in a *Whig*. On this account he very readily left him to my care, and agreed to meet us at his return among the tombs in *Westminster-Abbey*; for after our *City* tour, and visiting the two houses of parliament, *Westminster-Hall*, and *Westminster-Bridge*, that was settled to be our last stage, and the rendezvous for the day. The young gentleman was much delighted with the curiosities of the *Tower*. He seemed very little to regard the fire-arms, but expatiated largely on the terror of the *broad-sword*, and on the sure, dark, death-dealing *dirk*. He took particular notice that all the *foreign wild beasts* were confined in their dens, while the *foreign, tame Lord-Mayor* was permitted to walk at large in his *chains*.

At our return to *Westminster-Abbey*, in looking over that Mausoleum of great men, great scoundrels, great scholars, and great fools, my young companion testified much surprize at the enormous wigs of the last age, in Parian buckle, and the *pagan* divinities of the present *à-la-mode*. His curiosity, I must own, perplexed me, by desiring some rational and historical account of those piles of marble, erected to the memory of great generals who were never heard of, or ought for ever to be forgot, and illustrious statesmen, who had no other chance to be remembered at all. He seemed in *second sight*, already to behold new and superb monuments erected to his valiant countrymen; and he dwelt much on the magnificent *labour of a future age*, to the great *American* hero, the earl of *LOUDON*. He raved too of epitaphs, and the scrupulous attachment to truth, which is ever kept up in them. In the heat of his enthusiasm, he gave capacity and virtue to an earl of *BUTE*; and, what is remarkable, one *Englishman* had his praises; for he gave an elegant form, a liberal disposition, and a soul capable of the nicest honour, and truest friendship to the earl of *POWIS*.

But when we were got within the iron gates, the office of *Ciceroni* was taken off my hands, by a fellow, who, upon the regular demand and payment of a three-penny fee, preceded us to the first chapel, flirting about a switch with a careless familiar air of consequence, and humming a *divine hymn*, to the tune of *Nancy Dawson*. The extreme volubility of our guide's tongue, which ran over the methodical account of the consecrated dead, with equal emphasis, whether they bled by the point of a sword, or the prick of a needle, gave us, indeed, little leisure to dwell upon any single object; but left my companion's mind in a confused state of general admiration, till we were conducted into EDWARD the Confessor's chapel. While the rest of the company, for we had licked up several more in our passage, besides my old friend, who had by this time rejoined us, were taken up in contemplating the waxen image of the duke of BUCKINGHAM, and examining the elegance of his glass shoe-buckles, my young *Scotsman* carelessly flung himself into one of the old chairs, which were placed like useless lumber at the side of this deadly representation of life. According to the *customary* extortion of the place, our conductor claimed a forfeit, which you may be sure maister *Mackdonald* was not so untutored in *economy* as to comply with. But when the historian, with an air of authority informed us: "This is the chair in which
 " his majesty was crowned. Underneath it is the stone supposed to be *Jacob's pillar*; it was brought from *Scone* in *Scotland*. They were both used at the ceremony of the coronation of the kings of *Scotland*, and brought into *England* on the conquest of that kingdom by *Edward* the first." These words were hardly out of his mouth, when I perceived my young gentleman's eyes glistening with uncommon transport, and rolling about from the stone to his father, from his father to the stone, till at length unable to contain himself longer, the prophetic inspiration came upon him, and he repeated, like the

Sibyls of old with equal rapture, and in full as good verse, this memorable couplet:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

“ Or fate’s deceived, and heaven decrees in vain,
“ Or where they find this stone, the Scots shall reign.”

CAMDEN.

Oot, oot, mon, cries his father, clapping me on the back with great earnestness, and looking his son full in the face, let the false NORTH BRITON and his advocates burst their weams, here is a prophecy for us, better than *faifty* PROPHECIES OF FAMINE. Yon stene there is more precious than the philosopher’s, and *Archimede’s eureka* is a folly to’t. Ken ye weel, boy, that ye have sat upon the seat, which has hald the purest blood of aw *Scotland*? And if the family which make such illustrious figures in the *Scottish* annals, and caused such wonderful revolutions in this OUR kingdom, are not at present in the chair, we can aw tell wha is naxt to it.”

I was surpris’d at this sudden exultation of my friend, nor could possibly frame to my mind, whence he could draw such strange and wonderful conclusions, on examining a rough, hard stone, which seem’d in my eyes nothing more than a typical representation of the country which it came from. It seem’d to me to indicate as strongly the nature of the country, that it was *Petra et præterea nihil*, as the single bunch of grapes, which was forced to be carried by two men, denoted the fertility of the *land of Canaan*.

This extraordinary alteration of behaviour, both of the old and young gentleman, much surpris’d me. The completion of this glorious prophecy had so intoxicated their understandings, that they could not behave commonly civil. Upon my remonstrating, with proper submission, that this prophecy could by no means extend

to *England*, especially as we had now a sovereign, whom we *English* gloried in, as being our countryman, and whom we should neither be so complaisant or traitorous ever to *sell* or to give up for all the *Stuarts* in the world, my loyal friend, with great eagerness, and thorough *Scottish* good-breeding, interrupted me hastily, by telling me, with a supercilious air of authority, "Sir, we have as geud a right to this country as yourself; and let me tell you, Sir, there is nae such thing as an *Englishman*, and I hope shortly the very name will be annihilated." Convinced of the sincerity of his wishes, but unwilling to be persuaded out of my birth-right, or bullied out of my senses, I left them at coming out of the iron-gates, to the contemplation of their rising greatness, and the new modelling of their new kingdom, by beautifully tempering those two happy peculiarities, *Scottish elegance*, and *Scottish æconomy*.

When I had got home, and began to reflect upon our expedition, though I must confess, I was somewhat ruffled by the unexpected insolence of my two companions, I was more heartily vexed, that what I had at first conceived to be impossible, upon recollection, appeared more than probable. There had indeed been some pains taken, in the glorious reign of that *pacific* monarch, *James* the First, to establish their *right*, founded upon this stone, and warranted by this prophecy; but now, under the administration of the *elder* branch of that august family of the *Stuarts*, with such conspicuous abilities to support him, in all those measures so conducive to the welfare of *his* country, I think I may fairly wish them joy of their prophecy being fulfilled, more especially as I find it corroborated and marked out for these times by another, which is as clear and express;

When ANDREW shall unite with JAMES,
And TWEED adulterate with THAMES;

When Cod shall make the Salmon rue,
 Blue turn to yellow, green to blue;
 When John leaves Marg'ret in the lurch,
 And Presbyterians head the church;
 When cold JAMAICA sends for * PEAT
 From FLORIDA to roast her meat;
 When Reformation turns a shrew,
 And acts as RIOT us'd to do;
 When ENGLAND's lost, and BRITAIN wins;
 When UNION's firm, and STRIFE begins;
 When STUART's claims are all o'erthrown,
 And STUART reigns without a crown;
 Then triumph, SCOTLAND, thou hast won;
 ENGLAND look to't—the charm's begun.

NUMB. XLII. SATURDAY, MARCH 19,
1763.

Utinam istuc verbum ex animo ac verè diceres.

TER.

I wish you had used this word truly, and from your soul.

THERE is generally *one* favourite, ministerial word in high vogue. The minister himself first broaches it, and afterwards the whole herd of his dependents is ordered to echo it through the nation. During the administration of Mr. *Pelham* the fashionable word was *candour*. He frequently made use of it, and he really loved the thing more than the word. His whole public conduct gave the most convincing proofs of his *candour*. The *cant* word of the present minister is OECONOMY. There is not a poor, insignificant *English Tory*, or *Scottish, Jacobite clerk*, who has been three days in the *customs*, or *excise*, but has already learnt his lesson,

* See No. XXXV. and Note in p. 198.

lesson, and talks incessantly of the new minister's *oeconomy*. We hear of nothing but *oeconomy*, though we cannot, in any one business of national concern, discern the least trace of it. It is become the *Shibboleth* of the whole *Scottish* faction; for *their countryman* is for ever retailing the *word* to us, even when he is practising the most unbounded prodigality. The *word* he never forgets: the application of it to any public business we have never yet experienced from him. At no period of the English history has the nation been so much amused with *words*, and so grossly abused with glaring *facts* of extortion on the people, as of late by the present *Scottish* minister. It is an old observation, that he that first cries out, *Stop thief*, is often he that has stolen the treasure. We have heard of nothing but *oeconomy*, and we have seen nothing but profusion and extravagance. The proof shall soon follow the assertion; but I shall first state a late very extraordinary occurrence.

By the *Votes of the house of Commons*, we find, that on the seventh of March an address was voted to his Majesty, though not without opposition, *that he would be graciously pleased to employ in the army such persons, as now are, or shall be, upon half-pay, who are qualified to serve his majesty*. This surely was so plain and self-evident an instance of *oeconomy* to the public, as well as justice to the officer, that such an address must in its very nature be trifling, or must mean a direct insult on the minister. I think indeed, that he shewed the suspicion which that *honourable house* entertained with regard to his real intention to carry any scheme of *oeconomy* into execution. The *house* knew their gracious sovereign had the wise regulations of a just *oeconomy* at heart: but they seemed greatly to have distrusted the *minister*, and therefore proceeded in a true constitutional manner, by recommending the measure in a dutiful and humble address to the crown. I only argue from the *Votes*, which I suppose are printed, that the public may fairly reason on all parliamentary proceedings, of such a kind

as to be judged fit to be submitted to the opinion of mankind. At the opening of the session, in a most gracious speech from the throne, his majesty strenuously advised his parliament *to lay the foundation of that OECONOMY, which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war.* In the answer likewise to this address, his majesty is graciously pleased to declare, “It was always my *intention* to shew my regard to the merit of my half-pay officers, as well as my *attention* to the lessening of the public expence, by taking every proper opportunity of employing such of them as are qualified for service.” It is therefore clear that our most excellent *sovereign* had always at heart this scheme of *oeconomy*, and that the *minister* was believed by parliament to be averse to it. This unravels the mystery of this *address*, and proves that it not only became the wisdom of parliament, but was peculiarly adapted to the critical circumstances of the times. The conduct of the minister has shewn the justice of this opinion. The first principles of national *oeconomy* have been disregarded, for every regiment has been completed as to its compliment of officers, even a few days only before it has been broke, and chiefly by *Scotsmen*. This has most infamously swelled the *half-pay list*, and put the nation to an enormous expence, without a pretence of the least service to the public. I beg to know how many weeks Mr. *Gilbert Elliot*’s son has had a captain’s commission, and if he is yet *ten* years old? The *list of the Army* has been entirely printed off; but was ordered to be suppressed, and the new * *secretary at war*, the *jackall of the paymaster* bought the whole impression †. This has kept from the eye of the public this infamous scene, as well as the names of several *Scots*, who distinguished themselves under the banners of rebellion in

1745.

* *Welbore Ellis*, Esquire.† *A List of the Army* was after this published.

1745, and have been promoted since the administration of *their countrymen*. Their names, however, shall in due time be given to the public, and their loyal deeds faithfully recorded. By such methods has the *half-pay* list grown to its present enormous size, and so deep a wound been given to the public, even in *oeconomy*.

“ Let us now consider another striking instance of the
 “ total disregard of *oeconomy* : I mean the present loan
 “ of 3,500,000 *l.* The terms of the new subscription
 “ have been so injurious to the public, but so benefi-
 “ cial to the subscribers, that is, to the creatures of the
 “ minister, that there was immediately an advance of
 “ seven *per cent.* and in a very few days of above eleven
 “ *per cent.* I shall, however, only state it at the even,
 “ round sum of ten *per cent.* that I may not puzzle the
 “ *chancellor of the Exchequer*. The whole lone amounted
 “ to 3,500,000 *l.* consequently, in the period of a very
 “ few days, the minister gave among his creatures, and
 “ the tools of his power, 350,000 *l.* which was levied
 “ on the public : the most enormous sum ever divided
 “ in so short a time among any set of men. A few
 “ of their names I will mention, to shew in what
 “ estimation they are held by the public : Messieurs
 “ TOUCHET, GLOVER, *Cust* *, (brother to the able and
 “ impartial

* Extract from an Affidavit, examined by the Office copy.

—AND this deponent Peregrine Cust for himself saith that he hath particularly attended to and considered the following paragraph or parts of the said annexed paper, A, called the North Briton beginning at the 28th line of the third page thereof (folio 249) and from thence to the word Friends, in the fourth line of the following page (fo. 250) and which is or are expressed in the words and figures or to the effect following that is say “ Let us now consider &c. &c. [as above, within the inverted commas] And this deponent further saith that he hath also read over and considered the similar paragraphs, or parts of the said reprinted copy of the said paper called the North Briton as the same appeared to be expressed in the said reprinted copy of the same in the said annexed book called the Political Controversy

“ impartial speaker) *Amyand, Maygens, Salvador, Cole-*
 “ *brooke, Thornton and Muilman,* had each 200,000*l.*
 “ of

versy as the same are therein set forth beginning at the twelfth line of the page or folio in the said book marked 377 at the like words “ Let us now consider” and ending at the word “ friends” in the sixth line of the page following or folio marked 378 of the same book And this deponent saith that he doth apprehend and think himself prejudiced and injured in his character and credit in his business as a merchant of the city of London by the aspersions and insinuations respectively contained in the said several parts or paragraphs beforementioned and specified of the said paper called the North Briton and the reprinted copy thereof in the said book called the Political Controversy so far as the same do respectively mention, and relate to the person in the said paper and reprinted copy respectively mentioned by the name of Cust and that the said papers respectively do contain in the opinion and belief of this deponent very gross defamatory and malevolent as well as false and unjust insinuations and aspersions on the honour character and reputation of this deponent and this deponent saith he is the more fully convinced that this deponent was and is the person meant and intended by the name of Cust inserted in the said several papers before mentioned called the North Briton and the said reprinted copy thereof for that in or about the months of August and September last it being generally understood that a loan of money would be wanted for the service of the public and support of his Majesty’s government in the succeeding year 1763 and it being then uncertain what sum would be wanting (on account of the uncertainty at that time whether the war would continue or not) and it being also apprehended that a much larger loan would be wanted by the government than afterwards was found necessary and it being supposed that eight millions at least would be wanted for the said service and this deponent being desirous of contributing so far as he could to the service of the public by procuring among his friends and acquaintance part of the money which might be wanted for the said loan for the service of the government whether there should be a continuation of the war or not this deponent therefore declared to and gave out among his acquaintance that he intended to offer a list of subscriptions to the lords commissioners of his Majesty’s Treasury on account of the said loan to the amount of one million or thereabouts and thereupon
 this

“ of the new subscription, and of course almost immediately cleared 20,000 *l.* each, which they have, or
 “ have

this deponent received from many persons as well those of his acquaintance as many others, who this deponent knew only by reputation and character as responsible persons letters offering the sums which they were respectively willing to subscribe and which they desired to be included in this deponent's list and this deponent did accordingly insert in his said list indiscriminately the names of all the persons who so desired to become subscribers in this deponent said list (they being all persons who in this deponent's judgment were able and responsible persons) and the respective sums which they severally desired to have inserted and were desirous of subscribing were accordingly inserted in their respective names in the said list and no person who desired to have any part of the said subscription was omitted or left out of this deponent's said list in regard this deponent looked on the said loan in the nature of a public subscription and as what was likely to be a real service and benefit to the public and this deponent saith that in or about the month of January last and long before the terms of the said loan were known and before it could be possibly known whether the terms thereof would prove advantageous to the subscribers or not this deponent delivered in his said list for the consideration of the lords commissioners of the treasury and that in the said list so delivered in amounting to one million and twenty-four thousand pounds or thereabouts were included the names of all and every person who had wrote to this deponent desiring to be included in this deponent's list with the sums by them desired to be subscribed whether they were of this deponent's acquaintance or strangers (as many of them in fact were to this deponent, except by character as to their abilities) in order to their being eventually admitted as sharers of the said loan And this deponent saith that above four-fifths of the sum of two hundred thousand pounds being the sum allowed to this deponent on account of the said list so delivered in and offered to be subscribed by this deponent as aforesaid was divided among the several persons who had made such applications to this deponent as aforesaid and in which this deponent had no interest, or share or profit whatsoever and that there was not any one person who had wrote to this deponent to be in this deponent's list who had less than one fifth of the sum which he so wrote for except only one person who had wrote to subscribe twelve thousand pounds
 and

“ have not, shared among their friends.” In *this* instance, however, I dare say, the public will experience *no stoppage of payment*: such bargains are more likely to bring a nation, than the proprietors themselves, to *bankruptcy*. In a lucrative, ministerial *job* of any kind, it was impossible the name of Mr. Fox could be admitted. He had 100,000 *l.* that is, 10,000 *l.* clear profit. What the *jakall* had, I know not; but Mr. Calcraft, *not in Mr. Fox's name*, had upwards of 70,000 *l.* that is, a gift of 7,000 *l.* Mr. Drummond, a *Scottish banker*, to whom his *countrymen*, while his shop continued open, had such obligations in 1745, was gratified with 72,000 *l.* or, in other words, had 7,200 *l.* given him. I hope that this *douceur* is really meant for Mr. Drummond, and not for the *minister's* poor, distressed *cousin*, and *namesake*, at *Rome*. The governor of the bank, Robert Marsh, Esq; had 150,000 *l.* to keep the gentlemen there in good humour; and, to preserve his own good humour, 50,000 *l.* Lewis Way, Esq; sub-governor of the *South-Sea*, had the same sum, for the same purpose. Such *douceurs* were given to such persons, when gentlemen of
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and had two thousand pounds only of the loan to make it an even sum and this deponent saith that the assertions contained in the said two printed papers herein before-mentioned and described that is to say in the said paper called the North Briton that a sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds and in the said book called the Political Controversy that the sum of fifty thousand pounds was given in such manner as in the said papers mentioned which was levied upon the public, is according to this deponent's judgment and best of his belief a false and unjust misrepresentation inasmuch as it was in this deponent's opinion and judgment uncertain at the time of this deponent's delivering in his said list as aforesaid whether the agreement for the public loan would or would not be attended with benefit to the subscribers and there was not in this deponent's judgment any probability that the subscribers to the same would derive any large considerable or unreasonable benefit from it nor was the agreement itself in this deponent's opinion unfair or inequitable or inadequate to the risk run.

the first monied property in the kingdom, who had subscribed the largest sums in all the exigencies of government, during the two last wars, and who were of known affection to the *Brunswic* line, were refused any share. The reason given to several, was, *you are no friends of the minister*. The minister has declared that he had actually a tender of above seventeen millions *only* from the city. The public will judge from this how impossible it was to carry on the war even another year.

This enormous sum of 350,000*l.* ought to have been saved to the public. It undoubtedly might have been, if a fair bargain had been made by honest and intelligent stewards of the public, free from any disposition, or at least any resolution, to *buy* friends in so shameful a way with the nation's money. The sum is very near one shilling in the pound of the land-tax, which the *zealous, fond, believing, obsequious, confiding, supporting, acquiescing, bearing and forbearing* country gentlemen ought, among their stipulations with the minister, to have saved the nation. The public would then have had one obligation to their ministerial zeal, and some amends made for their scandalous prostitution. Had there been the least attention to *oeconomy*, we see this saving might have been made. If the shilling in the pound had not been taken off the land, the odious tax on *cyder*, in its present oppressive mode, would have been totally unnecessary: but the *excise laws* seem to be the favourite laws of the new minister, and * *his chancellor of the Exchequer* declared with a perspicuity, of which only that one head was capable, *that he was not for an EXTENSION of the Excise laws, but for an ENLARGEMENT of them*. If there can be any meaning couched in such barbarism, it should seem that the hydra of Excise is now to reach, where its cruel fangs never did before. After the monster of Excise had been so long kept tame, this *chancellor of the Exchequer*, I should imagine, is ordered to *enlarge* his claws, and then another is to come to *extend* his

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

his accursed dominion through the land. Yet (not to deviate from his happy *Patavinity*) all the *whole total* is *any thing for peace and quietness sake*; and at this time we must be content to take the thing *rough as it runs*.

I desire likewise to state the case of the lotteries, and of the gross impositions on the public by that part of the late bargain. Lotteries have always been objected to as promoting the spirit of gaming, so peculiarly pernicious to a commercial country. The necessities of government, during the two late wars, forced this measure: I mean of a lottery; but this year, the year of peace, we are to have *two* lotteries. To make this scheme as chargeable as possible to the public, and creative of more jobs, as well as longer to keep up the spirit of gaming, the *two* lotteries are to be drawn at *two* different times of the year. A minister who had really any love of *oeconomy*, would have made the tickets duplicates of each other, and have saved one half of the expence to the public. The earl of BUTE chuses to parade about *oeconomy*, at the very time he is practising the most unjustifiable profusion. In former years the interest on the lottery annuities commenced a year after the bringing in the scheme, and was only three *per cent*. In this frugal *Scottish* administration, it commences almost with the first payment, and is four *per cent*. I must observe how very unnecessarily, and even wantonly, this was done; for experience convinces us how little attention is paid by the purchasers of lottery tickets to the rate of interest accruing on them.

The creditors of the public for navy, transport, victualling, and ordnance services, have at least as much merit with the nation, (whom they trusted without the security of a fund, in dangerous times) and as strict a right to justice, as the new creditors of this loan advanced in days of peace. To the former the minister has thought it just to give a bare four *per cent*. redeemable at pleasure, to commence from next Lady-day. To the *meritorious* subscribers to the loan, interest commences

mences upon the whole from the first payment, together with two lottery tickets for every 100*l.* which are now selling at the advanced price of 9*l.* clear gain. I wish to know by what scale of equity the merits of these two sets of the public creditors have been weighed. Is it in the same *Scottish balance*, by which *evacuation* only was to be the lot of one ally, and *restitution* of all the rest? How exactly parallel to our *foreign honour* is our *domestic justice*!

An *open* subscription has ever been deemed the fairest and most *economical* method of borrowing money for the public. In times of war, and public distress, government, for greater security, has been obliged to have recourse to the other, more confined mode, though subject to partiality and influence. In these days of peace and affluence, is there a man who doubts that an *open subscription* would have been filled as soon as made public even with an overflowing of millions? But in this case the hungry harpies of the minister had not feasted on the vitals of their country.

In former subscriptions, even during a war, and a certainty of it's continuance, an *English* first commissioner of the Treasury has always thought about one *per cent.* a sufficient profit, when so large a sum as twelve millions has been raised on the public. *His* friends always rested satisfied with that expectation. Under the *Scotsman*, a set of hungry, avaricious, rapacious dependants have, with the certainty of a peace, and the sum of three millions and a half *only* to be raised, made above eleven *per cent.* of the public. I speak of those who have already sold other things, besides their subscriptions.

For the future, whenever I hear of *Scottish economy*, I shall conclude, that in private and house-hold concerns it means *sordidness*; in public matters, *profusion corruption*, and *extravagance*.

In this manner is the nation insulted by the falsest pretences to *economy*, and her wealth squandered among the tools of an insolent, all-grasping minister.

Gracious and best of Princes, knowest thou this!

NUMB. XLIII. SATURDAY, MARCH 26,
1763.

Vedligal esse impositum *fructibus nostris* dicitur et pecuniam per magnam ratione istâ COGI potuisse confiteor et *invidiam*.

CICERO.

A duty is imposed upon our very apples, and I confess that great sums of *money* may be raised by the tax, as well as great murmurings.

I AM not surprized at the general alarm, which has spread not only through the capital, but likewise through the whole kingdom, from a well grounded terror of the fatal consequences so justly to be apprehended from the new tax on *cyder*. This *odious* and *partial* tax is likewise to be enforced in the most *odious* and *partial* manner possible, by an extension of the laws of *excise*. The very word is hateful to an *English* ear, and the new doctrines introduced by that most grievous system of laws have, in a good measure, repealed the most favourite law of our constitution, which has ever been considered as the birth-right of an *Englishman*, and the sacred *palladium* of liberty; I mean the trial by JURY. In every case of property, where the *excise* is interested, the decision is not by a JURY, where the party has a right to object to any one or more of *twelve* partial or prejudiced men, but in *one* or *two* justices, or *commissioners*, who may have private, selfish views, and from whom generally there is no appeal.

peal. By the mode of the tax on *cyder*, not only professed dealers in that commodity, but many new orders of men become subject to the laws of *excise*, and an insolent *exciseman*, under the influence, perhaps by the order of an insolent minister, may force his way into the house of any private gentleman, or farmer or freeholder, who has been guilty of voting contrary to a ministerial mandate, and of obliging a friend with part of the growth of his own orchard. Even for what is used in his own family, a *poll-tax* of five shillings *per head* is to be paid, by all persons of the family under *nine* years of age. I am glad the limitation is confined, by this *merciful* and *forbearing* ministry, to that tender age, because I think *master* (I beg his pardon, *captain*) *Elliot*, at *ten* years of age, with such a commission in his pocket, ought to pay himself, or, at least, be paid for by his *Papa*, (I beg pardon again, I mean his father) Mr. *Gilbert Elliot*, out of the *half-pay*, which HE receives, in these days of *economy*, for the eminent services performed to the public by the *little master*. I am satisfied even that proud *Scot*, who has here learnt to talk such very *courtly language*,* would not utter one word against the *actual* payment of a fair share of such a tax, imposed by the advice and influence of *his countryman*, chiefly on a few rich *English* counties. I am sure he ought to rest satisfied with his good fortune, for he has the *treasury of the chamber* in *England*, which is a present income of near 3,000*l. per annum*, and reversion of a most useless office, *keeper of the signet in Scotland*, a place *for life*, of 1,700*l. per annum*, for himself, and his deputy (I suppose the said *infant captain*) receives 300*l. per annum* more, I do not mean *Scottish*, but *English* pounds.

The partiality of the tax on *cyder* has been no less blamed than the odious mode of collecting it; but the most cogent objection with the disinterested part of man-

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kind

* This alludes to a favourite expression of Mr. *Gilbert Elliot's* in a great assembly.

kind goes still deeper; for the enormous profit made by the subscribers to the new loan proves, that the tax was so far *unnecessary*. The proprietors, who have been gratified with it, exult at so immense and so secure a plunder of the nation, while the candid and unbiaſſed part of mankind ſtand aſtoniſhed at the effrontery of the miniſter through this whole tranſaction. The *bargain* is the moſt ſcandalous ever made for the public. It has been attempted to be excuſed from the uncertainty of the negotiations with *France*, and the difficulties which aroſe between the two courts even after the *Preliminaries* were ſigned. Mr. *Fox* himſelf fully answered this; for in a great *aſſembly*, he affirmed, that the bargain was made on the eighteenth of *February*, and that it was known here before that time, that the *Definitive Treaty* was actually ſigned on the tenth. In a very ſmall *aſſembly* he aſſerted that a bargain ſtill more infamous to the public, had been concluded by the miniſter on that very day, the eighteenth, and as infamous on his part receded from, on the twentieth, and finally ſettled on the preſent ſcandalous terms, on the twenty-second. What muſt the terms of the eighteenth have been, that even ſuch a miniſter was not only aſhamed, but afraid to keep? I am ſure, I may ſafely aſſert this little anecdote, as coming from Mr. *Fox* himſelf, and this without the leaſt ſuſpicion of *new-invented, newfound-land* FORGERY. The *Baſhaw* has the obligation to his *real friend* and (in *Scotland* phraſe) his *doer*, Mr. *Fox*, of the public detection of this infamous ſcene. This bargain was not laid before parliament till the ſeventh of *March*. It would have been very extraordinary in any other board of *treafury* to have concluded the bargain ſo long before, becauſe it neither can, nor ought to be conſidered in any other light, than as a bargain made at the very time of the application to parliament. Infinite impoſition and abuſe might otherwiſe follow. The ſettled method has been to develop the whole buſineſs, and to compare the propoſal of the day with the
general

general price of stocks at that time. All former chancellors of the Exchequer (*who have not been ASHAMED to know something of their business**,) have invariably pursued this rule. The navy, victualling, and transport services, on the seventh of *February*, (three days before the *Definitive Treaty* was signed) were charged on the sinking fund, at four *per cent.* and they appear to have been sold at half *per cent.* discount. The new loan at four *per cent.* exclusive of the lottery ticket, is two *per cent.* more advantageous than the allowance to the former creditors of the public: for a profit of two *per cent.* is given to every subscriber on account of prompt payment, who chuses to make it. This gives a profit of one and a half, on every 100 *l.* of the four *per cent.* redeemable, and in effect it actually sells at little less than 103 *l.* without any material change of circumstance.

I think it is now made clear to a demonstration, that the prime minister ought not to have given above a bare four *per cent.* redeemable for the 3,500,000 *l.* lent to the public. The profit infallibly to be made on the lottery tickets, could not, in estimation, fall much short of 9 *l.* for the two tickets, given with every 100 *l.* Government, till it fell into the hands of the present most incapable minister, has ever availed itself of this profit, in favour of the public, and credit has ever been taken for it in the bargain made with the subscribers. The unexampled paucity of the tickets, no more than 35,000 in each lottery, and the great probability that this kind of gaming will end this auspicious year (till the rottenness of the *Peace* brings us into new difficulties, perhaps, speedily to end in a new war) advanced the price of them so high, that their present rise cannot surprize any man, whose attention has been turned to matters of this nature, founded on comparative experience. It cannot

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* A remarkable expression of Sir Francis Dashwood's.

therefore be deemed an accidental, or problematical rise, but was certain and inevitable.

The mismanagement of the finances of this kingdom must give the deepest concern to every thinking man, who really loves his country. Such a man cannot but ask the question, whether the late infamous job was the consequence of incapacity or villainy, or a mixture of both? Let it be either, it has ended in a manner equally fatal to the public, thus defrauded of so large a sum. The *sinking fund*, which has had the epithet of *sacred* peculiarly applied to it, is so wantonly clogged, and groans under so many anticipations, that, it is confessed, it will not produce any thing to the public for above seven years. This prospect into futurity is still more clouded by the declarations made very publicly, by those who have the power to carry them into execution, that another tax, probably on the same odious line of *excise*, is, *in the next year* at least, to be laid upon the public, in addition to a land-tax still to be continued at four shillings in the pound. This declaration exactly tallies with every other act of that *low cunning* which characterises the minister; for it holds out to his creatures the blessed *second sight* of more plunder of the nation, if the hounds continue to follow their former feeder. Thus is the minister, as well as these robbers of the public, driven to the commission of a second crime, to secure impunity of the first.

This first essay of the *Scot* in the business of our treasury is, indeed, by the hand of a *master*; but of what kind? Surely of a most corrupt and profuse *master*, who must be totally ignorant of our finances, or at least *very lately* have acquired any practical knowledge of *money matters*, unless in the receipt of a small annual *pension*, obtained with difficulty from the duke of Newcastle for his faithful services, and steady vote in a former parliament. In either case, he ought not, at so critical a moment, boldly to have assumed the sole administration of so important a department, where *his*

own incapacity, and *his chancellor's* ignorance, are the hourly ridicule even of the youngest, most dependent clerk in the treasury. The tax on *cyder* has for many days covered *them both* with public contempt and derision. If it receives the sanction of the legislature, according to the mode of *excise* proposed, or rather imposed by the Minion, I will venture to assert, that he will soon be *deservedly* as unpopular and as much detested in every county in *England*, as Mr. *Bamber Gascoyne* is very *undeservedly* in *Lancashire*. His gentle and gentleman-like manners, his candour, urbanity and sweetness of temper, his politeness and high breeding, soar even beyond his patrons, and ought to conciliate mankind to the minister as well as to himself. I hope too they will for ever obliterate the odious name of BUTCHER *Gascoyne*, by which all his cotemporaries at *Oxford*, in so uncourtly a way, still persist to mark him.

The whole progress of the tax on *cyder* has shewn to mankind that nothing could have equalled the impudent pretence the minister has made to superior ability and *economy*, but his ignorance, fraud, and profusion, to a degree scarcely to be credited, but on the notorious evidence of *facts*. I chuse to argue from *facts*, because my Lord-Mayor is so fond of travelling the high *priori road*. That acute reasoner and sound scholar has more than once assured us, that he always will argue *à priori*, from *facts*, *a priori*, I say. *Why do gentlemen laugh? I argue from the stubborn evidence of facts, Sir. Arguments drawn from facts, a priori, Sir, cannot be resisted. That gravels gentlemen. I see they feel me,* &c. &c. &c.*

I shall conclude my ideas of the *Scottish* administration of *our* finances with an old observation of *Swift*. *I could point out some Scots with great titles, whose whole revenues before the Union would have ill maintained a*

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Welch

* This noble specimen of *Creechian* oratory was lately given to a great assembly of *whites*.

Welch justice of the peace, and have since gathered more than ever any Scotfman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

NUMB. XLIV. SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1763.

Pulchrâ pro libertate.

For beauteous liberty.

VIRGIL.

THE restless and turbulent disposition of the *Scottish* nation before the union, with their constant attachment to *France* and declared enmity to *England*, their repeated perfidies and rebellions since that period, with their servile behaviour in times of need, and overbearing insolence in power, have justly rendered the very name of *Scot* hateful to every true *Englishman*. The mean arts by which the present minister acquired his power, and his conduct since the acquisition of it, the long and dark scenes of dissimulation which he ran through for the sake of greatness, with the open and insolent outrages he hath committed, since his accession to it, against men much better than himself, the little capacity which he hath shewn for business; the inglorious peace which he hath infamously patched up, and whereby he hath sacrificed the glory and interests of this country to his own private ambition; his contempt of the *English* nobles, especially of those who are the known and tried friends of the constitution, and his strict union with those who are the avowed enemies of it; his mean and implacable resentments in turning out and reducing to poverty whole families, the honesty of whose patrons was their only crime; his gross partiality to his own *beggarly* countrymen; his virulence against all who will not slavishly comply with his destructive measures;

measures; his associating with a man justly odious to every party, from whose influence this country hath every thing to fear, and *who having been false to all, ought to be trusted by none*; these things laid together have rendered the minister justly suspected by the people, and have, *if possible*, made the name of *Stuart* more odious and contemptible than it was before. The very great and excessive complaisance of the associates in power, if he will suffer them to be called associates, whom he never suffers to act as such, in embracing his pernicious doctrines, and falling in implicitly with his fatal measures, their joining to give up in peace, what we had gained in war, their taking such steps as not only partially affect the property, but strike deeply at the liberty of the subject, have weaned the affections of the people from those few members in the administration in whom they had reposed some little confidence, and encreased their suspicions with regard to those whose former behaviour had not entitled them to any confidence at all. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprized that the spirit of discord should go forth in the land, and the voice of opposition be strong in the streets; but what we cannot help admiring is the modesty and veracity of those tools of power who would persuade us that the body of the people are perfectly satisfied, and that all reports of public discontent are made and spread abroad by the venal emissaries of a disappointed faction. They do not scruple to assure us, that the earl of *Bute* is the darling of the nation, and as much approved in the quality of a minister, as his Royal master is beloved and revered as a king. They would represent to us those respectable personages, who oppose the minister, as influenced by envy, interest, and other selfish motives, and not at all actuated by a love of their king and country; nay, they have ventured to proceed one step farther, and openly condemn all opposition, on whatever principles it is taken up, as criminal in itself. A doctrine which we could scarce have expected to hear in

England, (I hope it is not treason to make use of that word) at this time of day, or which we never could have imagined should have passed without rebuke. Not long since a divine * of the church of *England*, remarkable only for reading lectures which no one went to hear, publickly maintained from the pulpit, that to resist the minister was to resist the king; to resist the king was to resist God, and that the consequence of such resistance must be damnation. Let me not, however, be thought to insinuate, that this reverend adventurer in politics acted at all by the command of the one great man, however agreeable the doctrine might sound in his ears. He certainly would never have employed this young *Sackeverel*, when so many dignitaries were at his devotion, and all those grateful churchmen, who fled from the shipwreck, as they deemed it, of old *Newcastle*, must have stood ready at their idol's command, to preach up the traditions of men for the laws of God. But amongst all the advocates of despotism, the notorious *Paul Whithead* is the most remarkable. Little could we have expected to have seen his name in the black list. What? He, who was ever a licentious asserter of privileges, whose tongue was loudest in every mob to refund their rights, and to vindicate the liberty of the press; who treated nobles with impunity, and trampled on the sacred honour of crowns, whose unbounded boldness brought him into such extremities, that he may relate, which he hath often related, his *ear-breadth scapes*, shall he become a defender of the base, infamous doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance? Shall he brand with the name of faction those men whom every honest Englishman considers as his dearest friend? Can he, who was enlisted under the banners of a *staunch Republican*, thus weakly change his opinion, and thus impudently declare it, merely because

the

* This stupid divine was one *Truster*.

the dull patron is ridiculously renegadoed into a *court Jacobite*? Is this to be accounted for?

Cræculus esuriens, ad cælum, jufferis, ibit.

JUV.

“ And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes.”

Pensioner JOHNSON.

In spite, however, of all that can be said by private men, and threatened by those in a public station, I can answer for myself, and hope I may for others, that the liberty of communicating our sentiments to the public freely and honestly, shall not be tamely given up; nor, I trust, forced out of their hands. I am not yet so perfect in the court creed, as to believe they have any right to do it; and if they know their own interest, I am certain they will not attempt it. The ridiculous figure which they made in the apprehension of those persons concerned in the *MONITOR* hath opened their eyes, and tainted their rashness with some wholesome degree of fear. Inclination there is, no doubt, to silence the *NORTH BRITON*, but a consciousness of guilt prevents its being carried into execution; and however they may deal out large promises, and thunder forth empty threats, that impudent libeller, as they are pleased to call, but cannot, or dare not prove him, shall still pursue the path in which he hath hitherto trod; and whilst he finds the opposition, which is now gathering over the minister's head, composed of those men who are zealous for our constitution, and lovers of their country, no means whatsoever shall be effectual to warp him from so great, so good, so necessary a cause. Whatsoever opinion slaves may entertain, they shall as soon persuade a free-born *Englishman* to call the spirited opposition of the present earl of *Bath*, when Mr. *Pulteney*, the glorious efforts of those true patriots who expelled

expelled the cursed race of *Stuart*, and the vigorous struggles of those barons to whom we owe *Magna Charta*, by a disgraceful name, as the animated advances which are now making against the influence of the proud *Scot*, under the conduct of men whose names shall descend to posterity, and stand in the roll of honour with the first patriots.

When the opposition to the minister is the subject of conversation, it is remarkable to observe how men, who are in their hearts well-wishers to it, but have not spirit to speak out, retire back into themselves, how cautiously they hint their love of their country, as if it was a fault, and how sparingly they praise those who openly avow themselves the defenders of it. Their men may love their country much, but they love themselves more. Public considerations have some share in their hearts, but no farther than as they fall in with their private views---Self is their grand object, and their country comes in, only by the bye, and in a subordinate degree. They wish England well, but that is all---they will not advance one step, nor run the least risque to promote her welfare. Her situation may call for vigorous measures---but they beg to be excused---they chuse to wait---nor can come to any resolution till the event shall give them an opportunity of joining their strongest party. Whatever consequence such fluctuating spirits may maintain in troubled times, sure I am, that in a quiet and settled state, they ought to be treated with the utmost contempt. When a country is divided, neutrality is little better than treason; an honest man may, through mistake, take the worst side; but he cannot be an honest man who refuses to take any. The timorous disposition of these lukewarm patriots is at present inexcusable, as the opposition to *Scottish* influence is founded on those principles which ought to make every Englishman a party in it, and conducted by those men, whom long and repeated services have taught us to honour. Whatever face the credit of the minister
might

might wear some time since, and however his slaves might boast the strength of their chains, observation may convince us, that his power is now in the wain, and that a storm is gathering over him which must involve him in disgrace. However the name of *England* may be lost, the spirit still remains; nor would the NORTH BRITON for a moment believe, even at that time when there was more ground to believe it than he could have wished, that an upstart *Scot* should lord it uncontrouled over such a nation as this, or that the *Whigs*, those old and true friends of king and people, should tamely sit down, and suffer the hellish designs of *Tories* to be carried into execution without resistance,

The minister himself seems conscious of his decline; his fears appear in spite of his pride, he is meanly endeavouring to break the force of the opposition by disuniting the members of it, and employs his paltry emissaries for that purpose. But should he unhappily succeed in that attempt, it cannot establish his power; though it may prolong it; the *English* are a people who will not suffer their rights to be trampled on for any length of time, and whose just resentments have ever been successful against favourites and aliens. They will no more suffer the person who hath injured and oppressed them to skulk out of power without calling him to account, than they will tamely bear his oppressions whilst in authority. A minister is the servant of the public, and accountable to them. Our constitution is so happily tempered that it is not in the power of a sovereign to secure a bad minister, and of this we may be certain that it can never be in the inclination of the best of sovereigns to protect the worst of ministers. The earl of *Strafford* is an example on record, which our great man would do well to consider, and tremble. How soon this desired change may be brought to bear we cannot pretend, though blest with the gift of second sight, to ascertain; this, however, we may venture to declare,

declare, that it cannot be far distant. The jarring principles of those who compose the administration, and the impossibility of their blending with each other, so as to give and receive strength at the same time, made it probable from the first, that their union could not be of long continuance, and the noble spirit which hath been of late exerted against the minister by those honest men, who love both king and country, gives us a pleasing prospect of being speedily restored to harmony amongst ourselves. Nothing is necessary but resolution and perseverance, and these, I am convinced cannot be wanting, when I consider the persons, from whom we expect our deliverance.

As it may be convenient to many persons on various accounts to give as near a guess as possible when this ministerial revolution will take place, I shall give them a hint which may perhaps assist their conjectures, and propose Mr. Fox as a mark of observation to all who trade in politics. His steadiness to his own interest, with his remarkable talents of penetration, have hitherto enabled, and I doubt not will still induce him to quit his post when he can keep it no longer, and to leave his friends in the lurch. When we see him therefore, *flying from the storm**, pleading age and sickness, *accepting of a peerage**, or retiring to the government of the alley, we may safely conclude that a change is at hand, and that concord shall once more take place among us.

JOHN

* Mr. Fox was created Lord *Holland* on the 16th of *April* 1763, and soon after went to *France*.

JOHN EARL OF BUTE RESIGNED ON THE
FRIDAY FOLLOWING.

John Earl of BUTE was made first Commissioner of the
Treasury May 29, 1762.

On the same day the first number of the BRITON was
published.

The first number of the AUDITOR was published June
10, 1762.

The last number of the AUDITOR was published
February 8, 1763.

The last number of the BRITON was published Feb-
ruary 12, 1763.

Lord BUTE resigned April 8, 1763.

CHAPTER I
THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

IN THE YEAR 1492
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

DISCOVERED THE
NEW WORLD

WHICH HE CALLED
INDIA

BECAUSE HE THOUGHT
HE HAD REACHED THE
INDIAN CONTINENT

OF WHICH HE HAD
HEARD MUCH

FROM THE
PORTUGUESE

WHO HAD BEEN
DISCOVERING THE
WEST INDIES

BEFORE HIM

AND WHO HAD
BEEN CALLED
INDIANS

BECAUSE THEY
LIVED IN THE
INDIAN CONTINENT

AND WHO HAD
BEEN CALLED
INDIANS

The following advertisement appeared in all the papers on the 13th of April.

THE NORTH BRITON makes his appeal to the good sense, and to the candour of the ENGLISH nation. In the present unsettled and fluctuating state of the administration, he is really fearful of falling into involuntary errors, and he does not wish to mislead. All his reasonings have been built on the strong foundation of facts: and he is not yet informed of the whole interior state of government with such minute precision, as now to venture the submitting his crude ideas of the present political crisis to the discerning and impartial public. The SCOTTISH minister has indeed retired. Is HIS influence at an end? Or does HE still govern by the three wretched tools of his power †, who, to their indelible infamy, have supported the most odious of his measures, the late ignominious Peace, and the wicked extension of the arbitrary mode of Excise? The NORTH BRITON has been steady in his opposition to a single, insolent, incapable, despotic minister; and is equally ready, in the service of his country, to combat the triple-headed, Cerberian administration, if the SCOT is to assume that motley form. By HIM every arrangement to this hour has been made, and the notification has been as regularly sent by letter under HIS HAND. It therefore seems clear to a demonstration, that HE intends only to retire into that situation, which HE held before HE first took the seals; I mean the dictating to every part of the king's administration. The NORTH BRITON desires to be understood, as having pledged himself a firm and intripid assertor of the rights of his fellow-subjects, and of the liberties of WHIGS and ENGLISHMEN.

GENUS ORATIONIS atrox, & webemens, cui opponitur lenitatis & mansuetudinis.

CICERO.

“ **T**HE King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister §. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, “ when

* The passages included within the inverted commas are the only passages, to which any objection is made in the INFORMATION filed in the King's-Bench by the Attorney-General, against the publisher, Mr. George Kearsly.

† The earls of Egremont and Halifax, and G. Grenville, esq.

§ Anno 14 G. II. 1740. Duke of Argyle.

The King's Speech is always, in this House, considered as the Speech of the Ministers. LORDS Debates, vol. 7. p. 413.

Lord Carteret.

When we take his Majesty's Speech into consideration, though we have heard it from his own mouth, yet we do not consider it as his Majesty's Speech, but as the speech of his Ministers. p. 425.

Anno 7 G. II. 1733. Mr. Shippen.

I believe it has always been granted, that the speeches from the Throne are the compositions of ministers of state; upon that supposition we have always thought ourselves at liberty to examine every proposition contained in them; even without doors people are pretty free in their marks upon them: I believe no Gentleman here is ignorant of the reception the speech from the throne, at the close of last session, met with from the nation in general. COMMONS Debates, vol. 8. p. 5.

Anno 13 G. II. 1739. Mr. Pulteney, now Earl of Bath.

His Majesty mentions heats and animosities. Sir, I do not know who drew up this speech; but whoever he was, he should have spared that expression: I wish he had drawn a veil over the heats and animosities that must be owned ONCE subsisted upon this head; for I AM SURE NONE NOW SUBSIST. Vol. 11. p. 96.

THE NORTH BRITON.

“ when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers
 “ of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people,
 “ and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less
 “ with regard to the matter, than to the expressions of *speeches*, which they have ad-
 “ vised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the *opening* of each session. They
 “ well knew that an * honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail
 “ to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence
 “ committed by any minister. The speech at the *close* of the session has ever been
 “ considered as the most *secure* method of promulgating the favourite court-ciced
 “ among the vulgar; because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of
 “ the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or
 “ of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.”

“ This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial
 “ effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The *minister's speech* of
 “ last Tuesday is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt,
 “ whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign, or on the nation. Every friend
 “ of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities,
 “ whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name
 “ to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable, public declarations,
 “ from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unfulfilled virtue.” I am sure
 “ all foreigners, especially the king of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and
 “ abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, *My expectations have been fully an-*
 “ *swered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this*
 “ *salutary measure of the definitive Treaty. The powers at war with my good brother,*
 “ *the king of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation, as that*
 “ *great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation, has necessa-*
 “ *riety and immediately difused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe.* The
 “ infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known,
 “ that the king of Prussia did not barely *approve*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror,
 “ every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that
 “ magnanimous prince from *our negotiation*, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish*
 “ prime minister of *England*. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely
 “ on better terms of friendship *here*, than at *Vienna*; and he was betrayed by us in the
 “ *treaty of peace*. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim
 “ to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to him-
 “ self a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever
 “ seen. The king of *Prussia*, however, has gloriously kept all his former *conquests*, and
 “ stipulated security for his allies, even for the *elector of Hanover*. I know in what
 “ light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated
 “ here; among other reasons perhaps, for some contemptuous expressions he may have
 “ used of the *Scot*; expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of *Eng-*
 “ *lishmen* through the southern part of this island.

The *Preliminary Articles of Peace* were such as have drawn the contempt of man-
 kind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be
 restored, and the *East-India company* would have been infallibly ruined by a single ar-
 ticle of this falacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been
 hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign de-
 clare, *the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon*
conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people. As to the *entire ap-*
probation of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was
 obtained. The large debt on the *Civil List*, already above half a year in arrear, shews
 pretty clear the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the
 minister's speech dwells on the *entire approbation* given by parliament to the *Prelimi-*
nary Articles, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for
 he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and preci-
 sion, by which such immense advantages, both of trade and territory, were sacrificed
 to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders, are, indeed, in some measure set

* The House of Commons in 1715 exhibited *Articles of impeachment of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors against Robert Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer*. Article 15 is for *having corrupted the sacred fountain of truth, and put falsehoods into the mouth of Majesty, in several speeches made to parliament*. See the *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. XVIII. Page 224.

THE NORTH BRITON.

right by the *Definitive Treaty*; yet the most important articles, relative to *cessions, commerce, and the FISHERY*, remain as they were, with respect to the *French*. The proud and feeble *Spaniard* too does not *RENOUCE*, but only *DESISTS* from all *pretensions, which he may have formed, to the right of Fishing*---where? Only about the island of *NEWFOUNDLAND*----till a favourable opportunity arises of *insisting* on it, *there, as well as elsewhere*.

“ The minister cannot forbear, even in the *King’s Speech*, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word *æconomy*. I did not expect so soon to hear that word again, after it had been so lately exploded, and more than once by a most numerous audience, *biffed off* the stage of our *English* theatres. It is held in derision by the *voice of the people*, and every tongue loudly proclaims the universal contempt, in which these empty professions are held by *this* nation. Let the public be informed of a single instance of *æconomy*, except indeed in the household.” Is a regiment, which was completed as to its compliment of officers on the *Tuesday*, and broke on the *Thursday*, a proof of *æconomy*? Is the pay of the *Scottish* *Master Elliot* to be voted by an *English* parliament, under the head of *æconomy*? Is this, among a thousand others, one of the convincing proofs of a *firm resolution to form government on a plan of strict æconomy*? Is it not notorious, that in the reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it? Many unnecessary expences have been incurred, only to increase the power of the crown, that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the minister? The *staff* indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehended the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer as marshal *Ligonier*. That step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord *Ligonier* is now no longer at the head of the army; but lord *Bute* in effect is; I mean that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be obtained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the *Scottish* faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while *he* governs, and can make the tools of *his* power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean the personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiations of the late inglorious *peace* and the *excise*, will haunt him wherever he goes, and the terrors of the just resentment which he must be sure to meet from a brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be for ever before his eyes.

“ In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the *speech* that *spirit of concord*, and that *obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order*. They have sent the *spirit of discord* through the land, and I will prophecy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the *spirit of concord* to go hand in hand with the *PEACE* and *EXCISE*, through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent *EXCISEMAN*, and a *peer, gentleman, freeholder, or farmer*, whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? *Gloucestershire, Herefordshire*, and in general all the *cyder* counties, are not surely the *several counties* which are alluded to in the *speech*. The *spirit of concord* hath not gone forth among them, but the *spirit of liberty* has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation as sensible as the *English*, will see that a *spirit of concord* when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a *spirit of liberty* ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel. *Every legal attempt of a contrary tendency to the spirit of concord* will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the *spirit of the English constitution*,

“ A despotic minister will always endeavour to dazzle his prince with high-flown ideas of the *prerogative and honour of the crown*, which the minister will make a parade of *firmly maintaining*. I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the *honour of the crown* maintained in a manner truly becoming *Royalty*. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country in point of military force, complimented away, contrary to the opinion of *Royalty* itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the house of *Hanover*.” I wish to see the honour of the *crown* religiously asserted with regard to our allies, and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained with regard to foreign princes. Is it possible such an indignity can have happened, such a sacrifice of the *honour of the crown of England*, as that a minister should

THE NORTH BRITON.

already have kissed his majesty's hand on being appointed to the most insolent and ungrateful court in the world, without a previous assurance of that reciprocal nomination which the meanest court in Europe would insist upon, before she proceeded to an act otherwise so derogatory to her honour? But *Electoral Policy* has ever been obsequious to the court of *Vienna*, and forgets the insolence with which *Count Colloredo* left England. Upon a principle of *dignity* and *economy*, lord *Stormont*, a *Scottish* peer of the loyal house of *Murray*, kissed his majesty's hand, I think, on Wednesday in the *Easter* week; but this ignominious act has not yet disgraced the nation in the *London Gazette*. The ministry are not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard for the honour of the late king, or of his present majesty, that invited to court lord *George Sackville*. in these first days of peace, to share in the general satisfaction, which all good courtiers received in the indignity offered to Lord *Ligonier*, and on the advancement of -----? Was this to shew princely gratitude to the eminent services of the accomplished general of the house of *Brunswic*, who has had so great a share in rescuing *Europe* from the yoke of *France*; and whose nephew we hope soon to see made happy in the possession of the most amiable princefs in the world? Or is it meant to assert the honour of the crown only against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue of those, who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of ----- I will call them any thing but *ministers* ----- by whom the *Favourite* still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron.

The *Stuart* line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the *absolute, independent, unlimited* power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the *English* nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the antient liberties of this kingdom. "The *King of England* is only the first magistrate* of this country; but is invested by the law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, &c. equal with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty." The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the *favourite* has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people too have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of *DRYDEN* will be engraven on our hearts:

Freedom is the English Subject's Prerogative.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

Please to state the following fact, which is of a nature almost entirely new, and I will soon trouble you with my observations on so remarkable a proceeding.

L. S. By the Right Hon. *WELBORE ELLIS*, His Majesty's Secretary at War.

HA V I N G received his Majesty's commands, do hereby discharge *ANTHONY NICHOLS*, a private man, from the *Coldstream* regiment of Foot-guards, commanded by General *JAMES* Lord *TYRAWLEY*, from any further service in the said regiment.

Given under my hand and seal, at the WAR-OFFICE,
this 26th day of March, 1763.

To all his Majesty's officers, civil and military, whom it may concern.

W. ELLIS.

By the Articles of War, Sect. 3. Art. 2. After a non-commissioned Officer, or soldier, shall have been duly enlisted and sworn, he shall not be dismissed our Service, without a discharge in writing; and no discharge granted to him shall be allowed of as sufficient, which is not signed by a field officer of the regiment into which he was enlisted; or commanding-officer, where no field officer of the regiment is in Great-Britain.

Quere. Is the Secretary at War a field officer, or what officer is he?

I am, &c.

* In the first speech of *JAMES I.* to his *English* parliament, March 22, 1603, are the following words, *That I am a SERVANT is next true---I will never be ashamed to confess it My principal honour, to be the GREAT SERVANT of the commonwealth.* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. 1. Page 145.

A

NORTH BRITON EXTRAORDINARY,
WHICH WAS PRINTED, BUT NEVER PUBLISHED.

*Dicere verum
Quid vetat ?*

To say the Truth
What Laws forbid ?

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1763.

WHATEVER difference we may find in other respects between the present and late minister, in the exertion of a determined and inflexible resolution, they certainly bear a near resemblance to each other. One distinction, indeed, ought to be made even here, that Mr. Pitt's resolution arose from conscious virtue, and the Earl of Bute's from conscious power; but to the credit of the latter we must observe, that he hath shewn as inflexible a spirit in supporting every measure which was wrong, as the former could possibly maintain in promoting what was right. Regardless of all petty and private considerations, blessed with the most excellent qualities of head and heart, and sincerely attached to the interests of his country, Mr. Pitt proceeded with that well-grounded confidence, to which he was intitled by those qualifications, and in which he was justified by the most extraordinary success. Without any real regard to this country, wholly engrossed by private views, the qualities of his head as yet doubtful, and those of his heart too plain, the Earl of Bute hath, through his administration, behaved with that insolence, which in narrow minds is always the consequence of power,

power. When I mention insolence, I would be supposed to include meanness; for they always are to be found in the same place; and however different they may appear, wait only for a difference of circumstances to call them forth, and to prove them inseparable. In both these virtues, I apprehend, the present minister stands unrivalled, and the infection seems to spread through all his coadjutors. Numberless instances might be produced to justify this remark; but no one is more proper, and better calculated to shew both these excellent qualities operating at one time, and on the same subject, than the treatment which our East-India company in general, and Mr. Rous, a very worthy member of it in particular, have met with. However triflingly this affair may have been talked of, it is, in reality, of very serious and general consequence. At this time especially, when their election is drawing nigh, it is highly necessary that a clear and full account of that affair, with the real merits of the case, should be laid before the public; for putting it in our power to perform which, we are greatly indebted to the correspondent who hath favoured us with the following letter.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

AS a proprietor, I thought it not only my interest but my duty, to attend the general court, when the conduct of Mr. Rous was to be examined. I cannot deny but, from the reports which were spread abroad, I was greatly prejudiced against that gentleman, and flattered myself with some degree of merit, if I could be instrumental in giving him up to public censure, which I had been taught to think he had deserved. For certainly, Sir, I could never be justified in supposing him innocent, however boldly he might stand on
his

his defence, when the honour and uprightnes of the minister was engaged to prove him guilty; and when a court of directors had considered his misdemeanor as so gross and palpable, that they would not even hear him; that, when called upon, they would not enter into the affair, would not give him an opportunity of explaining his conduct, but forced a friend of that gentleman's to move for his being called to an account at a general court, as one guilty of misconduct, merely to give him an opportunity of proving to the public, that his conduct had been fair and irreproachable. This I could never have believed without proof, though, at the meeting, the proof was too strong to admit of the least exception. Mr. Rous defended himself in such a manner as to turn the shame, intended for him, on his adversaries; he proved his behaviour not only to have been undeserving of reproach, but even worthy of approbation, and the result of that affair was exactly what every candid man would have wished, what his friends expected, what his enemies feared, but what a stranger, as I was, could never have suspected. As I considered this affair as of the greatest consequence to the future welfare of the company, I was particularly attentive to every thing which passed, I took down the substance of Mr. Rous's defence for my own use, which I now transmit to you for the satisfaction of the public, and on which you are at liberty to make what remarks you think proper, or to leave every reader to make his own. You will observe I have taken this affair merely as it was considered, immediately relative to Mr. Rous, and as the affairs of the company were naturally interwoven with his justification; but should be glad if you will in your remarks bring it down to the present time.

The two grand objects of the company, even from the time of commencing the negotiation, under Mr. Pitt's administration, have constantly been:

1. A total exclusion of the French from Bengal, where the company enjoy extensive and valuable

possessions, and from whence they derive their most profitable trade.

2. In the restitution of French territories, to fix such a period as would leave them nothing more than places of trade, without a single acquisition of territory by conquest or grant from the country powers, and it was found that the year 1744 or 1745 would effectually answer this purpose.

These views of the company were communicated to Mr. Pitt, in a letter from the chairman, dated the 27th of July 1761, and at that time France acquiesced in what was then proposed.

On the 4th of June 1762, a copy of the letter, mentioned above, was transmitted to Lord Egremont, in consequence of a conversation which had passed between Mr. Sullivan and his Lordship, in which his lordship had been made acquainted with the contents of that letter, and had desired to see a copy of it.

On the 22d of June, Mr. Dorrien and Mr. Sullivan had a conversation with Lord Egremont, in which his Lordship observed, on the letter to Mr. Pitt, that it conveyed the outlines of a plan of pacification; but he should be glad, in the most distinct manner, to know the company's expectations, and particularly, if they were ready, in return for excluding the French from Bengal, to give them back all their other Comptoirs; to which he was answered, that the chairman and deputy would obtain powers from the court of directors for the transaction of this affair; which method his Lordship seemed to approve; but when he was reminded, on desiring that their sentiments might be delivered at large in writing, that the French should be the first proposers, he declared, That the company should not be made acquainted with the propositions made by the French, though before the whole was concluded, the gentlemen in the direction should know their objections.

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The gentlemen were repeatedly asked, by Lord Egremont, if the company would be satisfied with excluding the French from Bengal (which, his Lordship said, he believed they would not submit to) and granting them all their factories and former possessions on the Coromandel coast? To this, answer was made, That it was meant the French should, in that case, possess all which they had possessed before the year 1745, but no grant whatsoever since that period; and that they also meant to exclude the donations to Mr. Duplex and others. They likewise expressed their wishes, that both companies might be prevented from making war with each other, or, at least, that the French might be limited to a certain number of troops: the first of which his Lordship declared to be impossible; and the latter to be such an indignity as no nation would bear.

On the 24th of June, the chairman, deputy, and Mr. Sullivan, in consequence of the preceding day's conversation, agreed on the outlines of a plan to be drawn up, as the private sentiments of those three gentlemen, which the chairman was desired to communicate to Lord Egremont.

On the 25th of June, Lord Egremont received this paper from the chairman, and said it was sufficient for his private information; but at the same time said he apprehended the French would not be prevailed upon to give up the Bengal trade.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Wood, deputy secretary of state, had a meeting at the India House, with the chairman and deputy; at which he told them, That Lord Egremont expected a very regular plan of the company's expectations to be laid before him; and they had conversation concerning India.

On the 16th of July, Mr. Wood came again to the India-House, and informed the chairman and deputy, That he had directions to lay before them his Lordship's sentiments, relative to the conversation of the 9th, in writing; which he did, by a letter delivered to

them then, but dated the 9th of July, in which was contained, That Lord Egremont having been informed, by Mr. Wood, that those gentlemen understood the only matter relative to the interests of the company, as far as they become an object in future negotiation with France, to be contained in Mr. Sullivan's letter to Mr. Pitt, his Lordship considered that as the only matter lying before him from the secret committee, and that every thing else communicated, or that had passed in conversation, was not to be made use of—intimating, that it might not be amiss for the secret committee to be provided with the necessary powers, and to digest their thoughts relative to the interests of the company, so far as they might become an object of consideration for his Majesty's ministers, when the two crowns should come to treat of those affairs.

On the 21st of July, agreeable to what had been settled by the secretary of state, the secret committee (consisting of the chairman, deputy, Mr. Gough, and Mr. Tullie) were employed at a court of directors, to form a plan for the benefit of the company, to be laid before the ministry, and were also empowered to call in the assistance of any other person, and to report.

Soon after the secret committee met, with Mr. Hume and Mr. Sullivan, when those gentlemen desired time to give their thoughts in writing.

On the 12th of August, those two gentlemen produced their sentiments in writing; but lord Clive, who was then present, not having been prepared, gave his opinion only in discourse.

At these and other consultations Mr. Sullivan strongly recommended the giving back to the Indian powers the territories adjacent to Masulapatnam, and to make Masulapatnam a neutral city, where each company should have a factory; but neither should be allowed to erect fortifications. This was exactly the doctrine laid down in his plan above-mentioned.

On

On the 1st of September, at a court of directors, the chairman, after communicating the proceedings of the secret committee, intimated to the court, that lest more considerable offers should be expected, the cession of the territories of Masulapatnam unto the Subah of the Deckan had been thought of, for rendering the terms of which the plan consisted more admissible to the ministry; but that the secret committee, not apprehending themselves justified in coming to any resolution in so material a point, he desired the sentiments of the court thereupon; and the court, after mature debate, unanimously agreed (excepting the deputy chairman, and another gentleman) that it was not proper to give up to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnam, amounting to 50,000*l.* a year; and that therefore it should be no part of the plan to be laid before the government.

The above resolution was confirmed at the next court of directors.

The plan, which had been approved by the court of directors on the first of September, was left by the chairman at Lord Egremont's office on the 4th. It consisted of twelve articles, submitted with the greatest humility to the consideration of the ministry, enforced with the strongest arguments, and so clearly worded, explicitly commented on, that it was impossible the ministry should not have the clearest ideas of the company's interests in India.

In consequence of delivering in this plan, a letter was received from Mr. deputy secretary Wood, dated the 11th of September, importing Lord Egremont's disappointment in not finding such lights in it, as might facilitate what he has extremely at heart, which is to procure the most advantageous terms possible for the company, when a peace shall be concluded. His disappointment in not seeing such a confidential communication of their real expectations, as he thought the government intitled to, from the support afforded to

the company during the war—his observation, that if the company asked more than they expected to get, they not only laid a very useless load on the secretary of state, who was disposed to get even more than they asked, was it possible, but also confined and clogged the best intentions in their favour—his declaration—notwithstanding his sincere regard for the company, as a part of the whole, not to lose sight of the latter great object for any partial considerations. Mr. Wood's private opinion—that should the secretary of state find it impossible to keep up to the sentiments of the secret committee, with regard to what is to be insisted upon, the company would find it full as difficult to succeed in a negotiation, which they seem desirous of managing themselves.

On the 16th of September the chairman waited on Lord Egremont, in order to obtain an explanation of Mr. Wood's letter of the 11th. His Lordship expressed great displeasure in regard to the sentiments of the secret committee, which had been transmitted to him; and when he was assured by the chairman of the disposition of the directors to do every thing in their power to facilitate an accommodation with France, and was entreated to point out in what manner the directors might be able to promote that good purpose—His Lordship—declined giving any answer. But although his Lordship was backward in declaring his sentiments, his secretary was not at all so; and very freely and without reserve charged the chairman with chicanery and dealing uncandidly with the government.

Thus treated without doors, and beset (to say no more) within, the secret committee began seriously to consider what might be the consequence of the company's being deserted by the ministry in the negotiations of peace. They considered of alterations and new propositions, which might be more favourably received by the ministry, and resolved once more to take the opinion of the court of directors upon the point of giving up
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to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnum, notwithstanding the resolutions of the two former courts. By this time the court of directors took the alarm, they saw to what a precarious situation the company would be reduced if they were not included in the peace, and therefore, in hopes of obviating all farther difficulties, they determined, though by a very small majority, to agree to a paper laid before them on the 22d of September, for restoring these revenues and territories to the country powers. This paper was left by Mr. Dorrien at Lord Egremont's office, on the 30th. under the title of The farther sentiments of the secret committee, submitted to the ministry, being a supplement to their sentiments of the 4th.

The first notice taken of this paper of the 29th of September, was in a letter to Mr. Dorrien from Mr. Wood, dated the 16th of October; in which he mentions that a hurry of business had prevented his returning, agreeable to Lord Egremont's order, the above-mentioned paper, and that he should be glad to put it into the chairman's or deputy's hands, and explain why it was of no use, concluding with these remarkable words—his Lordship not chusing to meddle where he may do harm, or where it is put out of his power to do good.

In a subsequent conversation between Mr. Wood and Mr. Dorrien, on the 20th of October, Mr. Wood declared he had orders from Lord Egremont to say, that—as this was the first time the government had taken upon themselves to make a peace for the East-India company, he expected they would have acted with candour and openness to him; but as he found they had only a mind to throw off a weight from their own shoulders and burthen his Lordship with it, he was determined not to submit to such usage, as it was no part of his duty to settle a peace for the company, but had only offered it in regard to them, and that the proposals first delivered were such as he should have been ashamed

ashamed to offer to the French ministry. That the supplement being delivered so long as twenty-six days after the first memorial, Lord Egremont did not think proper to regard it: had both come together, the plan might have been reasonable. He added, that, it had in the general preliminaries been proposed to France to restore her Comptoirs or factories on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, as also in Bengal, and a trade allowed them up the Ganges, but that they should raise no fortifications at the latter place, nor be suffered to have any armed force there: this they had agreed to, but with their usual artifice, in saying, all their possessions, instead of their comptoirs, should be restored; which word having a great latitude, he, Mr. Wood, advised Lord Egremont by no means to admit of—That the above memorial being delivered in the interim, his Lordship had dropt making any reply, and there the affair rested; but that his Lordship had entrusted him, in case he met with any gentleman in the direction he thought proper to open it to, to say, that notwithstanding he had declined taking any thing upon himself, yet, if the company would prepare one general article to be inserted in the Preliminaries, his Lordship would try to serve them.—After some discourse, Mr. Wood himself drew up the following article, which the deputy chairman desired he might lay before the secret committee, as he could not, without their consent, venture to agree to any thing of himself.

All the comptoirs taken in India, either by the French or English, to be restored. The French and English to have nothing more than factories at Masulapatnam: the town, and its dependencies, to be restored to the Nabob; an hundred soldiers to be kept, if thought proper, by each nation, for protection of trade.

The French, though restored to the trade of the Ganges, and to mere factories for that purpose, are to have no troops or fortifications there.

After

After this, Mr. Wood declared that Lord Egremont could not meddle any farther, nor deviate in the least from the article the company should propose, and that in case they were left out by being unreasonable in their demands, the blame must fall upon themselves, and his Lordship should not postpone the public peace on their account, if the other terms could be settled: he then desired that what the company had to offer might be delivered on Friday morning, before ten o'clock, this being Wednesday; there being a council appointed for that day, and he did not doubt but he should prevail upon Lord Egremont to receive it.

This conversation and article were taken into consideration by the secret committee, on the 21st of October, and on the 22d the chairman and deputy waited on Lord Egremont, and requested farther time, that the secret committee might consider the terms to be offered in behalf of the company, according to this (curious) article, drawn up, and delivered by Mr. Wood. His Lordship readily acquiesced with this request, and said, he would send them the article to be proposed, for their consideration, subject to such alterations as they should think proper, which should be sent to the court of France, and then the committee should be made acquainted with the result thereof, and be informed from time to time what passed on the subject.

The chairman and deputy expressed their concern in having incurred his Lordship's displeasure, by not fully answering the expectations of government, in the memorial offered by the secret committee. To which his Lordship answered, he would argue the case coolly and without resentments; but that he thought the committee were not candid in offering such terms as they could not expect the French to comply with. The chairman and deputy then entered into the views of that memorial, and represented the great danger of restoring to the French the territories they had formerly possessed in the Carnatic, as the company would thereby risque
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the great debt due to them from the Nabob, after having engaged in a long and expensive war, to prevent the French from aggrandising themselves, according to Mr. Duplex's ambitious views. That these considerations induced the company to give it as their real sentiments, that the French ought to be restored only to the state they were in on that coast before the year 1744, and confined as much as possible to a mercantile system; and at the same time to remove a subject of future dissensions, they had been induced to relinquish their own pretensions to Masulapatnam, thinking likewise that this offer might prevent any obstacle to the general peace; to which his Lordship replied, he could see no reason for such a concession, nor that it would answer any purpose; however, at least, it ought to be kept in reserve.

At eight o'clock, the very same night (Friday the 22d of October) a message was sent by Mr. Wood, in writing, to the chairman, inclosing the following preliminary article, by lord Egremont's order, and signifying at the same time that his lordship would dispatch his messenger on the morrow night, or Sunday morning.

“ In the East-Indies England shall restore to France
 “ the several comptoirs which that crown had before the
 “ present war, on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar,
 “ as well as in Bengal; but the comptoirs in this last
 “ part of India shall not be restored, but on condition
 “ that his Most Christian Majesty obliges himself not to
 “ erect any fortification, nor entertain any troops there,
 “ and the Most Christian King engages to restore to the
 “ King of Great-Britain all the conquests, that may
 “ have been made by the French forces over the English
 “ in the East-Indies.”

This article thus sent down late at night, and on which no further time for deliberation was given than the next day, was laid before the secret committee about noon, on Saturday the twenty-third of October. It was in vain to hope for any alteration in respect to Bengal,
 and

and equally in vain to mention the year 1744 as the Period of restitutions, and extremely difficult to fix a precise meaning to the word Comptoirs, which (if it included settlements, factories and possessions) would instantly restore to France that immense extent of trade, territory and power, which nothing but providence had prevented, after the commencement of the war, from bringing utter ruin on our company.

In this dilemma all that the secret committee could do, and more, indeed, than they could expect to succeed in, according to the present humour of the ministry, was to make some alterations in the period of *uti possidetis* now set down to them; and with this view they came to a resolution to return the article altered as follows:

“ In the East-Indies England shall restore to France the
 “ several settlements which that crown had at the com-
 “ mencement of the present war between the two com-
 “ panies in India, viz. in 1749, on the coasts of Coro-
 “ mandel, and Malabar, in the condition they shall be
 “ found; and also the comptoirs they had in Bengal. But
 “ these restorations shall not be made but on condition
 “ that his Most Christian Majesty renounces all claim
 “ to subsequent acquisitions, and obliges himself not
 “ to erect any fortification, nor entertain any troops in
 “ Bengal; and the Most Christian King engages to re-
 “ store to the King of Great Britain all the conquests
 “ that may have been made by the French forces over
 “ the English in the East-Indies.”

The committee also sent up, at the same time, two articles, which they intreated might be made part of the Preliminaries, or be considered in the general treaty.

The first related to acknowledging the rights of the present Subah of the Deckan, and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The second, to the restoration of the Chinese families and slaves carried from Bencoolen by the Count d’Estaing, and a reimbursement of the charges incurred by the English company, on account of the French prisoners of war. A letter was also approved by

by the committee, and designed by the chairman and deputy, in which all ambiguity of expression was carefully avoided, and the reasons of the several alterations in the Preliminary Articles plainly and forcibly laid down.

On Sunday, the 24th of October, the chairman received a message from Mr. Wood, desiring to have some conversation with him that day, or next morning. The chairman accordingly waited on him, and was told, There having been no actual war in India between the two companies, in the year 1749, that those words, "the present war," seemed improper: it was therefore agreed, that the commencement of hostilities should be inserted in their stead, which would cure the impropriety without altering the sense of the article.

On Monday the 25th, at ten at night, the chairman received a letter at Hackney, from Mr. Wood, inclosing the article, thus altered, in point of expression only, and desired an immediate answer, Whether it was agreeable to the chairman's idea, as explained the preceding day? This article being the same as seen in the preliminary laid before the public, was returned to Mr. Wood exactly as received, with a remonstrance in his letter in favour of the country powers, which was disregarded.

This, Sir, is the substance of what Mr. Rous delivered in vindication of his conduct; and however clear and full it was then thought, and must now appear to a considering reader, who will connect and weigh the parts of it together, so as to form a true judgment of the whole; yet, as it is of some length, and of a complicated nature, I think it would not be amiss, in your next paper, to throw together some general remarks on these transactions, not only as they relate to that gentleman's justification, but as they regard the interests of the company. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,
A PROPRIETOR.



A

F R A G M E N T,

Which, it is said, was found in the pocket of one of the printers, who were apprehended by the King's Messengers, supposed to have been intended for No. 46. of

THE NORTH BRITON,

To be published on the following Saturday, April 30,
1763.

*Was it not enough that ye mocked men, but must ye mock
the Lord also?* BIBLE.

IT is a very melancholy consideration, which must fill every serious mind with the deepest concern and horror, that RELIGION is now made a political state-engine, to serve the vilest and most infamous purposes of an abandoned minister, or of a wicked and corrupt administration. Not only every good man must be shocked to see, what is in its nature sacred, thus prostituted to the shameful ends of faction and party, but every decent man must be alarmed at so public a contempt and violation of that respect which is generally paid, even by the profligate and abandoned, to the sentiments of the sober and thinking part of the community. The religious man will go a step further: he will consider

consider a proceeding of this kind as an impious mockery of heaven, and shudder at the dread of the fatal consequences he must apprehend from it.

I am led into these reflections by the Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for putting an end to the late bloody and expensive war, by the conclusion of a just and honourable PEACE. I look upon this to be a most daring insult on the common sense of mankind, and not only an outrage to the public, but a solemn mockery of the Divine Being. Are we by a ministerial mandate to thank God that the Scot has sacrificed our most important conquests to the inveterate enemies of our religion and liberties? Is the English nation to acknowledge the goodness of the Almighty, because, according to the regular dispensations of his providence, he has only suffered a weak and incapable minister to conclude a Peace, so inadequate to the great success with which the Divine Being crowned our just cause, so inglorious to the nation, so treacherous to our allies? a peace too for which all Europe expects to see him called to a very severe account? Should we not rather conclude, that the late Peace was given us by God in his wrath; and ought we not in consequence to humble ourselves before him, and to deprecate the other punishments, which seem to be coming very fast, as well as very weighty and grievous upon us? The Excise was plainly given in the just indignation of heaven against us, and the severest marks of vengeance will certainly be felt this year, though I hope our virtue will redeem us from so ignominious a bondage in the next.

I suspect that we have copied this new species of wickedness, the insulting the Divine Majesty of heaven, from the worst of our neighbours, the French. They, almost regularly after a signal defeat, sing Te Deum, with the greatest pomp, and by a thousand insolent songs of triumph endeavour to impose on the fond credulity of the people. That perfidious nation has never scrupled
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the defying God, to secure any temporary advantages; and their most solemn acts of devotion have plainly appeared to have been enjoined only to serve the artful purposes of the state. Is this the nation which is to be proposed for our pattern? And are the English to become what the Scots were for a long time, the professed admirers and imitators of the most atrocious frauds and perjuries of their old friends and allies, the French? These two nations have generally acted like the same subjects of one natural king, as Clarendon expresses it on occasion of the letter, which Lord Loudon, and others of the Scottish nobility, wrote to the French king, to ask his protection, and to put him in mind of the dependance the kingdom (SCOTLAND) formerly had upon that crown (of FRANCE.) The letter too was directed in the style of subjects to their own sovereign, au Roy. Such imitations of foreign manners will, I hope, be confined to the Scots, and never be followed by the English. I blushed when I read the late false and extravagant compliments of the Duke of Nivernois, and our unmanly returns. The violent professions of friendship made by France to this country, are not only surfeiting and suspicious, but very alarming, and I believe designed to cover some deep treachery. The great Duke of Marlborough, in a letter to Queen Anne, says, It is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your MAJESTY, there being in that court a root of enmity irreconcilable to your MAJESTY'S government, and the religion of these kingdoms.

Rejoicings should on this occasion be left to our enemies, and the greatest preparations are accordingly making by France and Spain to celebrate a Peace, by which they have recovered those important conquests, for which so much blood and treasure have been lavished—only for a minister to signalize his incapacity and treachery. But are WE to rejoice, and to join together in thanksgiving, for a peace, by which France
recovers

recovers Guadelupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinique, St. Peter, Miquelon, Pondicherry, all her settlements in the East-Indies, Goree, Belleisle, &c. her most valuable fisheries, &c. and the antient disturber of the tranquility of mankind, is again put in a capacity of endangering the liberties of Europe? Are WE solemnly to mock God by our rejoicing, that our minister has made a scandalous exchange of the Havannah, so important in itself, and which left all the settlements of Spain in the new world at our mercy, only for the wretched Florida?

I always feel the truest rapture, when I see the most excellent prince in Europe, the delight of his people, appearing in public to subjects, who build their own happiness on that of their amiable monarch. Yet I own, I hope my sovereign will not go on Thursday in solemn procession to St. Paul's, because I fear the censure of the malicious and ill-intentioned. I believe the city of London, so justly renowned for the high spirit of liberty, tempered with the firmest loyalty to their princes, was not gratified with the presence of their beloved King, either after the taking of Martinique, Pondicherry, or the Havannah. If gratitude to heaven in all these great events was shewn by our pious prince, rather in private devotion than in any solemn, public act, I should hope (if I may be allowed to form a wish on this great occasion) that the humiliating circumstance of giving up so many and important conquests, was not to be attended with parade or ostentation; for, I confess, I fear the ill-humour, which is too visible in the body of the people, enrag'd by an ignominious Peace, and the late attack on their liberties, by enlarging the dominion of that accursed fiend, the EXCISE. I hope, therefore, that on the day of thanksgiving for the PEACE, his Majesty will only go to Chapel, and that all bloody iron swords being now sheathed and laid aside, the peaceful wooden sword of state will be carried

be carried by that excellent Peace-Officer, Lord George Sackville.

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 * * * * * great illuminations at the
 hotels of the French and Spanish embassadors * *
 * * * * * Scotland-yard * * * * * South-
 Audley-street * * * * *
 * * * * * the British Coffee-house * * * * *
 * * * * * all the Scottish tradesmen in the Court, in a blaze
 * * * * * the Treasury, Admiralty, &c. on fire
 * * * * * Egyptian darkness through the city * * * * *
 * * * * * all the churches empty
 * * * * * the bells muffled, or tolling the loss of
 Martinique, Guadeloupe, the Havannah, &c. &c. &c.

NUMB. XLVI. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER
 12, 1763.

Sed quanto ille magis formas se vertat in omnes,
 Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla. VIRG.

The more into all shapes he change himself,
 The more, my son, constrain the biting chain.

IT is not possible to imagine a more general satisf-
 faction and more lively joy than appeared among
 all ranks of men in the beginning of the last spring,
X when

when our most excellent sovereign graciously condescended to gratify the wishes of his people, by removing the Earl of Bute from the post of First Commissioner of the Treasury. England had long smarted under the most rapacious acts of oppression and tyranny, which were frequently, sometimes very wantonly, exercised by that insolent, over-bearing minister. A general confusion had been introduced into every department of the state; but the finances in particular, because that was the province he had peculiarly made his own, were almost ruined. The national faith, which had been so celebrated in former times, began to be held in contempt, and one of our allies made no scruple to upbraid our ministers with an absolute breach of repeated promises, and of solemn engagements. Public credit, even so early after this glorious Scottish peace, began to droop, and foreigners had already taken the alarm.

The public joy, at the removal of so corrupt and so incapable a minister, was very universal and sincere; but alas! the days of triumph, on an event which had so long been the object of our most ardent wishes, were few and clouded. The nation hoped, as the natural and immediate consequence, to have seen the restoration of Mr. Pitt, and of the great Whig families, the antient and the only real friends of the house of Brunswic. The public voice seemed to have reached the ears of the sovereign. It was not at first believed that only the name would be changed, and that the administration of affairs could be entrusted to three known, hackneyed tools of that very minister, who were at one moment openly, at another with a little feint, to pursue the same system, the same unnational measures: yet, from a temporary despair, this soon became the case. *Res ad Triarios rediit.*

These three political *Horatii*, almost immediately after the removal of the Scot, obtained a pretty explicit declaration in their favour, and at once leagued together, not for the salvation, but for the plunder of the state,
for

for the maintainance of their own power, and the securing to themselves, their relations, and even newborn babes, the most desirable possessions and reverfions in the kingdom, in our conquests and our colonies. Not one of these men possessed, in the smallest degree, the affections, or even the good opinion of the people. They seemed content to bear the curses of their country, provided they could share among themselves the most lucrative offices of the state. The pride and insolence of one of them were never equalled by any of his countrymen, and had before made him as universally odious in private, as he soon became in public life. A savage disposition, and brutal manners, which early appeared in his juvenile pleasures, were joined in him to that spirit of despotism and cruelty, so characteristic of the Stuart line, the love of which his father, if he did not inculcate into his children, had yet carried with him quite through life. An ignorance scarcely to be credited, and a mulishness, which could never be conquered, rendered him the contempt of all, who were so unhappy as to be under a necessity of attending upon him.—But he has paid the debt to nature, and is gathered to the dull of antient days.—The other Lord has been said to concur very unwillingly in the prosecution of the same odious schemes: but the state of affairs at home, and the necessity of regular quarterly payments, drove him to an entire acquiescence with every measure prescribed.—As to the commoner, he was chosen, because he had gone through the several departments of government, was universally allowed to be the dullest and most laborious pack-afs of the state, and, in his youth, had seen a little practice in law proceedings. He was therefore pitched upon to suggest the various modes of carrying into execution the many projected acts of oppression, and at the same time keeping just to the windward of the law, or within the letter of an act of parliament. He was the true author of the most grievous part of that cruel Act for the new Excise on

Cyder and Perry, by which the Excise Officer has forced his way even into private houses, on this side the Tweed; for such is the partiality of this tax, that it will affect only a few English counties, but not one Scottish. It must be owned, that no man was ever fitter for the business he undertook. He has no passions. A perfect apathy reigns in his breast, save that an overflowing of the gall is now and then a good deal troublesome to himself, though very little to any other person. He is incapable of pity, of remorse, or even humanity, and indeed, of all those fine feelings which men of more delicate mould, and lively parts, relish in so exquisite a degree. His constant gravity and solemn deportment were of real service; for they impressed an idea of dignity and importance on the common beholder; and his want of passions gave him an opportunity of affecting a wonderful sanctity of morals.—*Tertius è caelo cecidit Cato.*

Under such an administration, is it at all surprising that our affairs at home are declining, and our glory abroad sullied? Some few changes have indeed been made; but have such men † been brought in as had the

† Of these men, the most infamous in every respect, was the E--- of S----- . He had passed his youth in so abandoned and profligate a manner, that when he arrived at the middle age of life, he did not, in the opinion of the world, remain in possession of the smallest degree of virtue or honour. His conduct, with respect to women, was not only loose and barefaced, but perfidious, mean, and tricking. He was restrained by no considerations of private character, nor checked by any regard to public decorum. Frauds of the lowest nature, enforced by perjuries and falsehoods, were his only arts. With respect to men, he had early lost every sentiment of honour, and was grown exceedingly necessitous from the variety of his vices, as well as rapacious from the lust of gratifying them. Nature denied him wit, but gave him a species of buffoonery of the lowest kind, which was ridiculous in a man of fashion, and fit only for the dregs of the people. In business he was slow, tedious, and dull. He was sent, on the part of England, to conclude the

the confidence of the nation? I will venture to affirm that a more universal discontent never appeared among the people than at present. We were told, that by the late peace a full security was obtained for our American colonies. Is that the fact? The numbers of our fellow subjects basely murdered in the time of this profound glorious peace, give the lye to the flattering addresses of some vile hirelings in their mother country, and demand vengeance on the ministers, who have so scandalously neglected, and left in a state of insecurity, not only our new conquests, but our most valuable colonies. Those are made a prey to the rapacity of four hungry Scottish governors; these are left exposed to the barbarity of savages, whom the intrigues of our new friends, the French, and repeated injuries from our own people, have, at length, armed against us. As to the merit of three of these gentlemen, I am a perfect stranger: the demerit of the governor of Quebec the world has seen; for he had very nearly lost the most important conquest we made during the whole war; a conquest purchased with the blood of one of our first heroes, the immortal Wolfe. Among the variety of
new

the general peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; where he made such childish blunders, that an able and experienced minister was obliged to be sent from Vienna on purpose to do the business of the Plenipotentiary. The minister declared, on his arrival, that no one point of real importance had been settled. Even the usual and necessary forms of the ratifications of former treaties had been omitted, by which our greatest commercial advantages, particularly with Spain, would have been sacrificed. Since that period, to the present year, L----- S----- was laid aside, as totally unfit for any arduous or even serious business, nor has any thing of moment been, by any administration, trusted to him alone. Almost every good man having been forced out, or voluntarily left the present ministry, the seals of the Secretary of State, of the Northern department, were put into his hands; and the nation, from that moment, saw that the administration were determined to aim a deadly blow at the vitals of liberty, and the English constitution; and therefore had pitched on the most profligate fellow of the age for that most profligate attempt,

new measures, which this nation must ever deplore, the appointment of military men to civil governments is not the least to be lamented: a policy reserved for such puny politicians, as we have seen taken from the Cocoa and Arthur's, to make ministers of, and which is deservedly become the ridicule of all Europe. I will only further observe on this head, that the partiality of these appointments to every new government we have acquired, plainly marks the same hand to fatal and hostile to England, which instead of holding the fair balance, has, by violence and injustice, kept down one scale, and made the other kick the beam. A Gazette so late as that of Saturday * the 8th of October, must convince every man, that even now Scottish influence is not at an end, and that all pretences of that kind, whether they are made by men in or out of power, are captious and delusive.

As to our affairs at home, I am free to declare that almost the only healthy symptom of the state seems to me the noble spirit exerted by our countrymen in the counties of Devon, Cornwall, &c. The summer has
not

* The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Honourable James Murray, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of Quebec in America.

The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint James Grant, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of East Florida in America.

The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint George Johnson, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of West Florida in America.

The King has been pleased to constitute and appoint Robert Melvill, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's islands of Granada, the Grenadines, Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago in America; and of all other islands and territories adjacent thereto, and which now are, or heretofore have been dependent thereupon.

not passed in inglorious ease, neither in the West nor the South of this once happy island, and I trust that the holy flame of liberty, which has glowed in the hearts of many, will be caught by all the representatives of this free country. Parliaments are, by the constitution of our government, the guardians of liberty. Before them it is the duty of the people to lay their grievances, and it then equally becomes the duty of our representatives to redress them. I have therefore no doubt that very early in the ensuing session of parliament our countrymen will be delivered from this new bondage of excise, the only badge of slavery which this kingdom knows under the mild government of the most amiable of our princes. A British house of commons will ever be faithful to the great and important trust reposed in them by the collective body of the people; and when the sense of the nation is so clearly known, there ought surely to be no hesitation in any administration to conform to it. A neighbouring kingdom has very lately given us a proof of that constitutional spirit and love of freedom, which has ever distinguished those true and zealous Whigs. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by several leading passages in his speech to parliament, seemed fervently to beg their approbation of the late peace. He vainly hoped that his sycophant court language would be echoed back in the address; but an honest house of commons there, greatly superior to all undue influence, would give no congratulation on such a peace, nor prostitute the words glorious, honourable, or adequate, to what has disgraced us to all the world. On the contrary, those generous sons of freedom, embarked in the same noble cause with ourselves, declare, in an animated manner, that they cheerfully supported such heavy burthens during the continuance of the late successful war; and, in the coldest way, but just mention the re-establishment of a general peace.—The parliaments of France likewise have, in the course of last summer, set an example of freedom, which some other kingdoms

kingdoms would do well to imitate, and have presented such memorials as the freest state in Europe might be proud to own. They have not been afraid to declare that the piety, the honour, the justice of their King had been surprized; that his solemn promises, and sacred word, had been violated. They have dared to approach the throne with the boldest and most unwelcome truths, and have made bad ministers tremble. They have besides drawn such faithful pictures of the extreme miseries of their bleeding country, as must confound our ministerial hirelings; and the various facts they mention demonstrate the total inability of France to continue the war. Her credit was entirely lost, and her marine annihilated. How she has since recruited, and in what a state of recovery her finances are, we must I fear too soon with anguish experience. This is the more to be lamented, because the public securities of this kingdom have fallen so low, that foreign nations begin to lose all opinion of that credit on whose broad basis our commerce arose, and encreased to a magnitude, which has raised the admiration and envy of all other states. The public funds, in a very few months, in this early dawning of peace, have fallen above 14 per cent. England appears now in danger of ceasing to be the great mart, the centre of the commerce and riches of the world, from the fluctuating state of her public credit. That beautiful and wondrous fabric, the work of ages, the pride and glory of Britain, as well as the jealousy of her most powerful neighbours, which has survived two desperate Scottish rebellions, seems at last doomed to fall a sacrifice to the incapacity and treachery of a set of men, formerly the objects of the contempt and ridicule, now of the abhorrence and hatred of their country.

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